DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 074	SO 012 013
AUTHOR	Mische, Patricia; And Others
TITLE	Earthscape: Transitions toward World Order. The Whole Earth Papers, No. 12.
INSTITUTION	Global Education Associates, East Orange, N.J.
PUB DATE	79
NOTE	61p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Global Education Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, New Jersey 07017 ($2.50, quantity discounts available)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Developed Nations; Developing Nations; Ecology; *Futures (of Society); *Global Approach; Human Dignity; *International Relations; Natural Resources; Peace; Political Issues; Socioeconomic Influences; *World Problems

ABSTRACT

The five articles in this booklet focus on positive social, political, and economic responses to world problems. The first article, "Earthscape: Transitions Toward World Order," by Patricia Mische, outlines major biological, historical, and cultural transformations which the world has undergone since the beginnings of recorded history and identifies recognition of interdependence among nations as the foundation for a new world order. The second article, "The Ecological Age," by Thomas Berry, examines how developing and developed nations are coming to terms with the need for environmental protection. The third article, "The Evolving Upward Path: Reflections on the United Nations," by Robert Muller, discusses involvement of the United Nations in global issues such as the arms race, arms sales, poverty, economic and social disadvantagement, human rights, and international cooperation. The fourth article. "Building the Infrastructure of World Order," by Patricia Mische, surveys global level policy development since World War II by organizations such as the United Nations. The final article, "Forty-eight Global Level Issue Areas," by Robert H. Manley, summarizes international policy development from 1945-1977 in 48 issue areas, including outer space, energy, monetary policy, mass media, peaceful settlement of disputes, territorial integrity, health, housing, refugees, and social security. (DB)

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EARTHSCAPE:
Transitions toward World Order

THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS

Published by Global Education Associates No. 12

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THE WHOLE EARTH PAPERS are published by Global Education Associates. 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, New Jersey, 07017.

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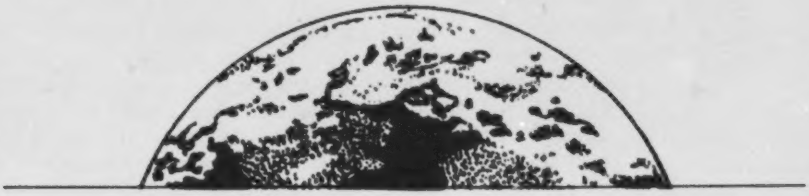
EARTHSCAPE:

Transitions toward World Order



The authors of this issue of *The Whole Earth Papers* do a remarkable thing. They hold out a basis for hope at a time when images of pessimism and despair pervade. And they do so by pointing to the life impulse of the earth system itself and the evidence of human response to that impulse. The authors move us to look again past the images of despair to the beauty and promise of this good earth and to the abiding potential of the awakening human spirit. They do so not by pointing to some utopian and remote aspirations but to positive realities and trends occuring now, in our own historic times.

If we look only at some of the negative trends around the earth, it is easy to feel little hope for the future. The arms race and the development of weapons of mass destruction continue unabated—threatening further economic erosion and the subordination of human needs at best, and at worst mass genocide, irreversible harm to the human gene pool and the devastation of the environmental life support system. Radioactive wastes from the production of nuclear weapons and nuclear power is deadly for hundreds of thousands of years, capable of producing cancers, birth defects, genetic mutations, sterility and death. This waste is being stored in containers with a life of from 40 to 60 years. It is being dumped in our oceans or buried in the earth, sometime not far from civilian communities. When these containers corrode the whole life chain on earth will be affected.

Hunger, poverty, alienation, human rights violations, unemployment, the decline of democracy, and a long list of other items on the global agenda cry for more adequate attention. The list of negative trends and potential crises is long.

And yet there has been another trend, often overlooked and little understood. The earth is soliciting a response to these dangers:

- in the form of a deeper consciousness and spirituality;
- in the form of a new perception of ourselves and our relatedness to the earth;
- in the form of changes of lifestyle;
- in the form of social and political ferment; and
- in the form of an emerging policy system related to the well-being of the planet and its citizens.

It is happening now, in our own time and history. We can see it. We can document it. We can take courage in it. We can build on it. We can give life and expression to it in our own choices, lifestyles and the political processes available to us at local, national and global levels.

Earthscape provides an occasion to stand back from our daily involvements where the proximity prevents clarity of view. It invites us to take a longer range look at where we are going and where we would like to go. The authors do not deny the existence of negative realities in this period of history. They point to the very real dangers before us. But they also affirm the positive potential on the horizon - a potential that is growing despite negative realities and perhaps even in response to them.

Earthscape is a cross sectional view of our changing perceptions, modes of consciousness, and planetory social-political trends. It is a hard look at what the human community has accomplished in the last several decades and the challenges and tasks still before us.

A Major Transformation

Human social-political history has undergone three major transformations each with increasing rapidity:

1. the biological transformation over the last five million years from prehominid to homo sapien and the emergence of *folk or tribal societies;*
2. the transformation over the last five

It is happening now in our own time and we can take courage in it. We can build on it. We can give life and expression to it in our own choices, lifestyles and the political processes available to us at local, national and global levels.

thousand years from folk societies to *traditional civilizations;* and

3. the rise over the last five hundred years of *modern civilization* on the wings of scientific, industrial and technological revolutions; and with it the rise of the nation-state as the dominant form of political organization.

Numerous historians suggest we are now undergoing a fourth, major transformation, that we are moving with relative historic rapidity toward a *world ecumene*. This present era is a *transitional* one. Thomas Berry describes it as a groping phase where we are trying to find our direction into a new human order. It is an era marked by increasing global interdependence and inter-cultural communication. It is an era where the advent of scientific knowledge and instruments have made it possible to explore the *macro*cosmic environment of the earth as a sub system of galactic systems and the *micro*cosmic universe of the smallest particles of matter. And while some are exploring more fully the outer and inner space of the physical universe, others are busy exploring the inner and outer space of human potential, learning in the process that we humans are presently realizing only about one tenth of our physical capabilities and less than one percent of our mental, psychic and spiritual capabilities.

All this interaction and exploration may be seen as the preparatory stages for a major human journey into a new era of history. In this journey the past paradigms and institutions of the modern technological age - geared as they have been to dominance *over* nature and to competition for national dominance in international affairs - have become dysfunctional to survival and human well being.

While these paradigms and structures built on dominance are eroding, new forms in environmental and social-political relationships are in the early stages of development.

Foundations For A New World Order

A basis for hope can be found in the fact that this new mode of consciousness is now beginning to emerge. The deeper that Western science has gone in its inquiry into matter, the closer it has been brought to a recognition of what spiritual visionaries have known intuitively for centuries. The earth itself - in the very substance of its matter and inner workings - presents the laws that shape the possibilities and limits of human activity. As part of the substratum of the earth the human species has the choice of abiding by these laws and flourishing or violating them at the risk of peril. These natural laws which govern the working of the simplest cells and the cosmos at large are also the basis of the authentic spiritual impulse and at the heart of the great religions.

They are also the laws or principles which must guide the shaping of a new world order if it is to succeed and survive. Berry defines these laws as:

1. differentiation (respect for the diversity and infinite variety in the universe, including among people)
2. subjectivity (the value or sacredness of each reality in the universe)
3. intercommunion (the capacity for mutual indwelling in the universal order of being)

He suggests that we are likely to find our direction into the future best by being keenly sensitive and responsive to these principles and the psychic energies that flow from them - "from deep in the very structure of reality itself."

Thomas Berry refers to this emerging age as the *Ecological Age*. He sees us as a species being called - for the sake of our survival and ultimately the only way out of the present crises - to come back in ever deeper awareness to our rootedness in the earth and our inter-communion with all living and nonliving systems of the universe. He compares the earth's biosphere to a single cell. As humans we must learn, he says, "that we are a functional part of this single cell, that we live or die as this single cell lives and dies."

He continues, "The nations must learn a primary allegiance to this larger life system. It will do little good for any nation to seek its own well being by destroying the very conditions for planetary survival. This larger vision is no longer utopian. It directly concerns the hardest, most absolute reality there is; the reality of the water we drink, the air we breathe, the food we eat."

Robert Muller points out that "the length of life of a civilization depends on its capability to solve environmental and social problems; the civilization must not destroy itself soon after it masters the technological means to do so." Our own civilization, he says, stands now at this precise crucial threshold.

The essential change, the real transformation that must come if we are to cross this critical point successfully, is a radical transformation in our mode of consciousness - a change that affects not only the mental constructs by which we perceive our reality, but affects changes in our values systems, lifestyles and the world social-political order.

The new mode of consciousness that Berry advocates is one which Robert Muller identifies as a vital contemporary force that is giving life to new social -political forms. In his writing in this and other publications, he describes the transforming process he sees occurring. The following is from his article called *"The Biological View of Cooperation."*

"In the last few years, superimposed on a variety of racial, cultural, political, social, and economic diversities, the world has witnessed the forceful emergence of the oneness of humankind. This concept has long been known to biologists, philosophers and religious leaders, but only recently did it burst through the crust of national thinking and policies. It was the result of the fantastic advances in science and technology which, since World War II, have reached from the atom and the cell to outer space and to our moon and solar system. It was not the fruit of wishful or utopian thinking but of very hard facts and common concerns which have suddenly seized the entire human species and its leaders: the atomic scare, the population scare, the environmental scare, the energy and resources scare, and there will be others. New preoccupations, beliefs and ideas which were totally unknown not long ago emerge one after the other and occupy the forefront of the news as birthpains of the global age. There has never been any precedent of such a situation in the entire evolution of humankind. We are entering a totally new period of our planet's history."

In the same article Muller compares this new mode of consciousness and its effects to a body or collective organism made up of the entire human race. He sees the United Nations and other budding planetary efforts as a kind of brain or nerve center of this developing body:

"It is definitely my impression, as a practitioner of world affairs, that the human race is slowly but surely taking the form of a collective organism, with common concerns, needs, feelings and relations, shaken once in a while by real biological shudders which seize the entire body from one end to the other. The great universalists of the past, people like Kant, would be thrilled to live today and to see their vision of humankind as an entirely take progressively shape. And what would Charles Darwin say if he could study today's human evolution?

"I have at least one proof of what I say: it concerns the birth of a brain for this new biological entity. While there are no cellular particles in the human body that are sufficiently "intelligent" to detect or determine the direction of biological evolution and then change themselves accordingly, such a system is being developed for the human species as a whole. In my view, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, together with the mass media and innumerable other international efforts, are becoming this collective brain or macro-cephalus of humanity.

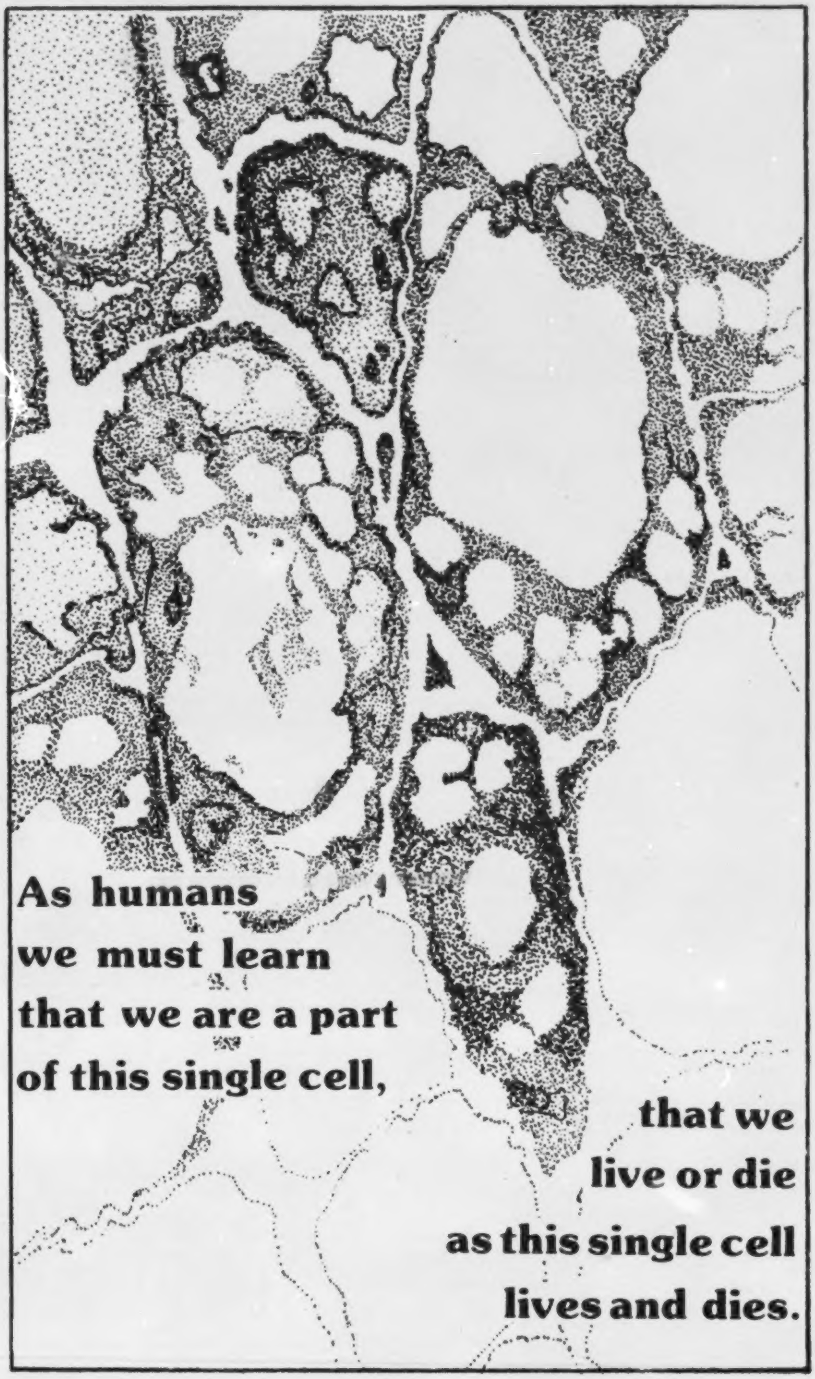
" All major problems and preoccupations concerning our planet are being brought under the pressure of global events to the world organization. There is not a subject on Earth, there is not a preoccupation of the human race that is not being registered, studied, and debated in this collective globoscope. This goes from the atom and genetic engineering to a legal order for outer space and preserving our environment, our cultural diversity and the heritage of our past. It reaches from world reporting on birth defects and radioactivity to pressing for better standards of living, longer lives and attaining mankind's multiple and sometimes conflicting dreams for peace, freedom, equality, order, justice, beauty and environmental quality."

The phenomenon which Robert Muller points to is examined in detail by Robert Manley in his article in this issue, *A Survey of Global Policy Development from 1945 to 1977.* Manley explores the way in which a global infrastructure in the form of global policy goals has been rapidly evolving over the last three decades. In this remarkable survey we see the results of the efforts of world minded people since the end of World War II. It illustrates that there is a growing and promising trend toward the development of a viable world order.

What remains to be seen in the longer sweep of history is whether the trends pointed to by Manley, Muller and Berry can continue to grow in sufficient strength and mass support to move us successfully into the new world order demanded by an emerging global era. None of the authors suggests that there are guarantees of a successful transition past the present critical phase of history. But the positive trends and possibilities they point to should balance the apocalyptic predictions of the pessimists and give courage to all those concerned enough to put their energies into the building of a new era of a world justice and peace and environmental balance.

All of us can take courage and hope in the realization that the earth impulse for sustaining diversity, unity, mutual indwelling and wholeness is alive and well and ever available - struggling toward actualization in the human community no less than it struggles for actualization in the physical universe of which we are a part.

— *Patricia Mische*



THE
ECOLOGICAL

— BY THOMAS BERRY

Thomas Berry is Associate Professor, History of Religions, at Fordham University. For many years he has been associated with the work of the American Teilhard Association for the Future of Man. He has made extensive studies of the religious foundations of the Eurasian world, of the tribal cultures of the North American continent, and the transformations in the human mode of Being brought about by modern science and technology.

He has published several books: The Historical Theory of Giambattista Vico (1949), Buddhism (1966), Religions of India (1971). Among his published articles are: The Spiritual Form of Oriental Civilizations; Traditional Religion in the Modern World; Mao-Tse-Tung — The Long March; The Dynamics of the Future: Future Forms of Religious Experience; Religious Studies and the Global Community of Man. The Ecological Age.

AGE

What is clear is that the earth is mandating that the human community assume a responsibility never assigned to any previous generation . . . Humankind is passing out of its stage of childhood into its adult stage of life.

As we think our way through the difficulties of this late twentieth century we find ourselves pondering the human meaning of the future. Sometimes the future appears as a yawning abyss about to swallow us up as our present energy sources begin to fail, as pollution darkens the skies and poisons the seas, as tensions between nations and within nations intensify, as military methods grow more destructive, as the multitudes of humankind double in numbers and men swarm toward the great urban centers. There crime and violence increase constantly; arsonists begin setting our cities to the torch. These urban centers and their corresponding difficulties will multiply. In the year 2000 there will be some 300 cities of over a million people in the world. Eariler in this century there were only a dozen such cities on the planet. So we could continue on with this description of our world in endless detail until we were all driven into a state of paralyzing depression. While such is not my intention, it is my intention to fix our minds on the realities before us with some sense of the magnitude of the human task we face.

This human task concerns every member of the human community in whatever occupation, on whatever continent, of whatever ethnic group, at whatever age. It is a task from which no one is absolved and in which no one is ultimately more concerned than anyone else. Here we meet as absolute equals to face our ultimate tasks as human beings within a human order. We have a question of life and death before us, the question, however, not merely of physical survival but of survival in a human mode of being, of survival and development into the true splendor of intelligent, affectionate, imaginative persons living in ecstatic enjoyment of the universe about us, in profound interior communion with each other, and with some significant capacities to express ourselves in our arts and sciences, in our music and dance. It is a question of interior richness within our own personalities, of shared understanding and sympathy in our homes and in our families. Beyond this is our extended security and inter-communion with others in an embrace of mind and heart that reaches out to the local community, to the nation, to the larger world of humanity, to an affectionate concern for all living and non-living beings of earth, and on out to the most distant stars in the heavens. A break, a single destructive antagonism anywhere in the fabric of being is a tear in the heart of every being.

This description of human grandeur may seem a slight exaggeration, a romantic view of human possibilities. To this I answer that this is the basis on which the human venture has been sustained from its earliest beginning until the present. Our difficulty is that we are just emerging from the technological trance into which the human mind has been placed by the scientific-technological modes of thinking that have dominated human existence for the past two centuries. During this period the human mind has been placed within the narrowest confines it has experienced since consciousness emerged from its paleolithic phase. Even the most primitive tribes have a vision of the universe, and of the place and functioning of the human within the universe; a vision that extends to celestial regions of space and to interior depths of the human; one that far exceeds the parameters of the human within the manipulative world of technological activity as we have known it in recent centuries.

We Are The Earth

It is not surprising, then, that when a more expansive vision of the human breaks upon us at this time it should come as a shock, as something unreal, insubstantial, and unattainable. Yet this is precisely what is happening through the instrumentality of science itself. The exclusively analytical manipulative phase of science is over. A counter-movement toward comprehensive integration and interior subjective processes is taking place within a new humanistic vision of the entire universe. Humankind with all its imaginative and emotional capacities is now seen not as an olympion observer extrinsic to an objective world, but as a functional expression of that very world itself. A human being is that being in whom the earth becomes conscious of itself. The deeper subject is the world, the earth, or the earth process. In our own deepest subjectivity we are the earth, as the earth in its consciousness phase is us.

So the most intensive experience of the scientist, the experience that has fascinated scientists in the deepest realms of their unconscious is a mythic, mystical, magical vision that is only now coming to conscious awareness in the mind of the scientists themselves. It can hardly be repeated often enough that the dynamics back of the scientist is non-scientific just as the dynamics of the technological endeavor is non-technological. In both instances there is a far reaching transforming vision that is sought that is not far from the spiritual vision sought by the ancient tribal cultures as well as by the great traditional civilizations of the past. Only such a visionary quest could possibly have sustained the efforts made these past two centuries in both science and technology. Nor could anything less than such a trance state have so blinded scientists and technologists to the devastating impasse into which they have been leading the human venture.

Not until Rachael Carson in the early 1960's shocked the world with her presentation of the disasters impending in the immediate future was there any thorough alarm at the situation facing us. Ever since then we have been asking each other what has happened? Where are we? What can be done? When in 1972 the Club of Rome came out with its *Limits of Growth* a new anxiety gripped us. Since then scientists and technologists have set themselves to the task of devising neo-scientific ways of understanding the universe, and neo-technologies for dealing with the needs of humankind in the future.

That much has been done by scientists and technologists is clear. Their work is indispensable. Yet the very condition of their ultimate success depends on their understanding of the world into which they would lead us. Scientists and technologists, as well as economists, may simply be extending the trivialization of human life in the recent past on into the future. If this is done we can expect continued diminishing of the taste for life, a dying down of the energies needed for the stupendous task of building the global community of the future, and a turn toward what Sigmund Freud designated as a "will to death." The scientific process has, however, recently begun to penetrate more deeply into those primordial energies out of which the galactic systems, the earth, and the life forms of earth have emerged and upon which the future ultimately depends. These energies, which are the primary subject of study in all the sciences, have from the beginning a twofold aspect, a physical and a psychic aspect. The supreme achievement of science has been to establish a complete narrative of the innumerable physical transformations through which these primordial energies have passed to arrive at the human mode. Less attention has been given to the numinous psychic transformations which are even more significant than the physical transformations. This sequence of change, especially since the shaping of the earth began, has been marked by ever increasing psychic intensity, a deepening subjectivity, which has never faltered over any great period of time.

The Tribal Age

In the early tribal period humans lived in a world dominated by psychic power symbols whereby they guided their lives toward communion with their total human and trans-human environment. They felt themselves sustained by a total cosmic presence that went beyond the surface reality of the surrounding natural world. The sense of an all pervasive, numinous, or sacred power gave to their lives a deep security and enabled them over a long period of time to establish themselves within a consciousness realm of high spiritual, human, social and artistic develop-

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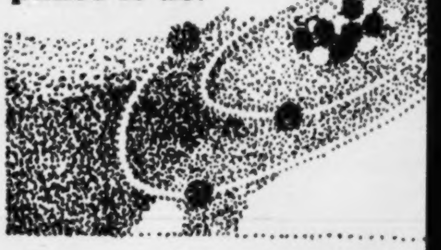

A human being is that being in whom the earth becomes conscious of itself. The deeper subject is the world, the earth, or the earth process.

ment. This was the period when the gods were born in human consciousness as expressions of those profound spiritual orientations that emerged from the earth process into human unconscious depths, then as symbols into the conscious mind, and finally into visible expression. All that humankind has done since then has taken this same course. The gods have been changed, the visible expression has been altered, but the ultimate source of power still remains hidden in the dynamics of the earth and in the obscure archetypal determinations of the unconscious human depths.

The Age of Traditional Civilizations

These primordial determinations were further developed in the second age of humankind; the age of the great traditional civilizations of the Eurasian and American worlds, the age of Confucian China, of Hindu India, of Buddhist Asia, of the Ancient Near East, of Islam, of Medieval Europe, of the Toltec, Mayan, Pueblo and Inca civilizations of Central and South America. The human structure of life in all these civilizations had many similarities; their sense of the divine, their ritual forms, their social hierarchies, their basic technologies, their agriculture economy, their temple architecture and sculpture. The great volume of human civilizational accomplishments came in this period, especially in development of the spiritual disciplines whereby human life was shaped in the image of the divine.

The Technological Age

But then in the western world a third great age of human development began. A new sense of human capacity for understanding and controlling the dynamics of the earth came into being. While the efforts of all former civilizations had been to enable humanity to find an exalted place within the seasonal sequence of the earth's natural rhythms and to establish a special center where an intersection of the divine, the natural, and the human planes of reality could take place, the new effort beginning in the 16th and 17th century work of Francis Bacon, Galileo Galilei, and Isaac Newton sought to understand the phycial forces at work in the universe and the manner in which people could avail themselves of these energies to serve their own well-being. By the mid 18th century the invention of new technologies had begun whereby people could manipulate their environment to their own advantage. At this time also an "objective world" was born, clearly distinct from the human and available to humans not as a means of divine communion but as a vast realm of natural resources for human exploitation and consumption. These scientific attitudes and technological inventions became the modern substitutes for the mystical vision of divine truth and sympathetic evocation of natural and spiritual forces by ritual and prayerful invocation.

Yet, though differing in its method, the historical drive of the West toward a millenium of earthly beatitude remained the same. The Day of the Lord of the earlier biblical books and the later apocalyptic vision of a coming earthly paradise remained the same. But the means had changed. No longer divine grace but human effort was the instrument for this paradisal realization. The scientists and inventors, the bankers and commercial magnates were now the saints who would reign. This, then, was the drive in the third great age of human history, the Technological Age, which succeeded the tribal age and the age of the traditional civilizations. It was an energy revolution not only in terms of the physical energies now available to people but in terms of the psychic energies which came to new modes of expression. Never before had there been such a turbulent age of change, such a variety of activity, such a movement to alter the world to introduce humanity into an earthly redeemed state, and finally, to give humans power formerly attributed only to the natural or to the divine.

This achievement was associated with a sense of political and social transformation that would release people from age-old tyrannies. The very structure of existence was being altered. In this mood America was founded, achieved independence, and then advanced throughout the 19th century to a position of world dominance in the early 20th century. America took seriously the words of

The nations must learn a primary allegiance to this larger life system. It will do little good for any nation to seek its own well being by destroying the very conditions for planetary survival. This larger vision is no longer utopian. It directly concerns the hardest most absolute reality there is; the reality of the water we drink, the air we breathe, the food we eat.

Thomas Payne written in 1775 in his pamphlet Common Sense. There he says, "We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation similar to the present, hath not appeared since the days of Noah until now. The birthday of a new world is at hand..." Earlier, the pilgrims had seen this country as the new City on a Hill to which all humankind could look for guidance into a glorious future. Throughout the founding years, even until the 20th century, peoples crossed the Atlantic with a vivid sense that they were crossing the Red Sea from the slavery of Egypt to the freedom and abundance of the Promised Land.

Such expectation of a political and social transformation went with a new exhilaration from new powers for technological dominance and industrial exploitation of the earth. This led to a savage assault upon earth such as was inconceivable in prior times. The experience of sacred communion with the earth had disappeared. Such intimacy was considered a poetic conceit by a people who prided themselves on their absolute realism, their aversion to all forms of myth, magic, mysticism, and superstituion. Little did these people of the technological age know that they themselves had a mythic, magical, mystical and superstitious attitude toward the earth. Their very realism was as pure a superstition as was ever professed. Their devotion to science was a new mysticism, their technology was a magic way to paradise, and their entire life attitude was as unreal a mythic vision of existence as was ever known.

As with all such mythic commitments the awakening process can be slow and painful and filled with exaggerated reactions. Our present awakening from this enchantment with technology has been particularly painful. We have altered the earth and human life in many irrevocable ways. Some of these have been creative and helpful. Many have been destructive beyond imagination. Here we could repeat the brief description of our present world that I mentioned in the beginning of this discussion, but there is really no need to do so.

The Ecological Age

So we must pass on to the next age that is dawning before us, the fourth age, the Ecological Age. I use the term "Ecological" in its primary meaning as the relation of an organism to its environment but also in its metaphorical sense as the intercommunion of all living and non-living systems of the universe. This vision of an integral world system into which we are emerging is of primary importance if humankind is to have the psychic power to undergo the mental and emotional, the individual and social, the economic and political, the ethical, religious and aesthetic transformations that are being demanded of us. We must not mistake the order of magnitude in this challenge that we face. It is not simply adaptation to a reduced supply of fuels, or to some modification in our system of social or economic controls, nor is it a slight change in our educational system. What is happening is something of far greater magnitude than all these. It is a radical change in our mode of consciousness. Our challenge is to create a new language, even a new sense of what it is to be human. It is to transcend national limitations to achieve a sense of the human community. It is to alter many of our basic values. A new sense of the directions that human existence should take is involved.

What is happening has been unthinkable in ages gone by. Humans are in control of forces that once controlled them, or more precisely, the earth process that formerly administered the earth and guided its affairs directly is now accomplishing this task in and through human beings as conscious agents. Once a creature of earthly providence, humankind is now the expression of this earthly providence. Humans have the power of life and death not only over human life but over the earth itself in its higher forms of life. For the first time they can intervene directly in the genetic process. For the first time they can destroy the ozone layer that encircles the earth and let the cosmic radiation bring about distortions in the life process. For the first time they can destroy the complex patterns of life in the seas and make our rivers uninhabitable by any form of life. Some areas of river pollution are so bad now that not even bacteria can live in them. So we could go on with our description of human power over the very topography of the planet.

This change in the relation of human activity to the earth process can be considered as a change equaled only by the transition from non-life to life, or as the change from life to consciousness, or as a change such as that experienced when the first neolithic civilizations came into being some eight thousand years ago. Perhaps nothing since then, not even the great civilizational structures themselves produced change on such a significant scale. Such change cannot be managed by partial accommodations or even major adjustments within the civilizational contexts of the past anymore than the problems that led to Quantum Physics could be dealt with by any adjustment within the context of the Newtonian universe.

Humanly as well as physically we are now in a world order that can be dealt with only by a transformed mode of consciousness. This we can see in the political order, for instance, when we consider the United Nations and the problems it is trying to deal with. These problems can no longer be dealt with simply on the level of sovereign nations engaging each other in discussions where each nation sees itself as its own ultimate frame of reference as to what is desirable or undesirable. On this basis the nations can only continue their plundering of the earth in quest of needed natural resources or in quest of national security. That the total human community depends on the forests of Brazil for oxygen or that the entire planet is affected by the pollution of the seas makes little difference if individual nations feel that polluting the seas or destroying the forests are to their own benefit, for however short a time.

Thus no sense of earth responsibility can be expected until the human community is able to act in some unified way to establish a functional relation with the earth process which itself does not recognize national boundaries. The sea and air and sunlight, the living forms of earth, establish a single functional planetary system, a system so unified that biologists tell us that the closest analogy to the biosphere of earth is that of a single cell. Humans must learn that they are a functional part of this single cell, that they live or die as this single cell lives and dies. The nations must learn a primary allegiance to this larger life system. It will do little good for any nation to seek its own well being by destroying the very conditions for planetary survival. This larger vision is no longer utopian. It directly concerns the hardest, most absolute reality there is; the reality of the water we drink, the air we breathe, the food we eat. The United Nations and its constituent members have begun to realize this. Thus the Conferences on environment, on technology, on habitation, on water, on all those basic elements of life that must now attain human protection and just distribution for the welfare of the total human community. Planetary welfare is now the welfare of each nation and of each individual.

Much of our trouble during these past two centuries has been caused by our analytical microphase modes of thought. We centered ourselves on the individual, on the nation, on personal aggrandizement, on a competitive way of life, on self assertion, on money values, on our so-called realism, on scientific evidence, on what we called the facts of the particular situation. We paid little attention to the larger more comprehensive visions of reality. This was for the poets, the romanticists, the religious believers, the moral idealists. Now we begin to recognize that what is good in its microphase reality can be deadly in its macrophase development. Much of human folly is a consequence of neglecting this single bit of wisdom. For instance, an automobile or a few hundred automobiles with good roads may be a great blessing. Yet when the number increases into the millions, the hundreds of millions, possibly to the billions, the automobile becomes a demonic reality capable of destroying the higher forms of life of the entire planet. So with all human processes, undisciplined expansion and self inflation only lead to destruction. The primacy of the Great Cell must be maintained if any subordinate life system is to survive. So with economics and politics; any single activity must find its place within the larger pattern or it will die and perhaps bring down the larger life system itself. This change of scale is one of the most significant aspects inthe change of consciousness that I am suggesting.

Governing Principles of the Ecological Age

But here I would like to shift the discussion just a little in order to clarify further the basic structure of this fourth age, the Ecological Age, into which we are presently moving. It is an opposed though complementary age that succeeds the Technological Age. But in a deeper sense this New Age takes us back to certain basic aspects of the universe which have been evident to the human mind from its earliest period but which have been further refined, observed, and scientifically stated in more recent centuries. These governing principles of the universe have controlled the entire evolutionary process from the moment of its explosive origin some fourteen billion years ago, to the shaping of the earth, the emergence of life, of consciousness, and so through the four ages of human history that I have mentioned. These principles that have been known in all past ages by immediate intuitive processes are now understood by scientific reasoning although their implications have not yet been acted upon in any effective way. The new age, however, must not only understand but activate these principles in a universal context if the human venture is to continue.

These principles on which the universe functions are three: *differentiation*, *subjectivity* and *communion*.

Differentiation

Differentiation is the most primordial fact of the universe observable by man. In the fiery violence of some billions of degrees of heat the primordial energy dispersed itself through vast regions of space not as some homogenous smudge or jelly-like substance but as differentiated atomic and subatomic particles which were distributed through a certain maze of elements. These were further shaped into galactic systems with their individual starry oceans of fire. Everywhere we find this differentiating process taking place. In our own solar system, within the sequence of planets, we find the planet earth taking shape as the most highly differentiated reality that we know about in the entire universe. Life on the planet earth finds expression in an overwhelming variety of manifestations. So too when homo sapien appears there are immediately multiple modes of expression in human existence, which themselves change through the centuries.

Subjectivity

In this variety of expression a second primary principle finds expression—the principle of increased *subjectivity*.

From the shaping of the first hydrogen atom to the formation of the human brain, interior psychic unity has consistently increased along with a greater complexification of being. Much more needs to be said about this deepening interior or psychic identity in the structure of reality.

Intercommunion

Yet we must move on to a third principle of the cosmic-earth process, that of *communion* of each reality of the universe with every other reality in the universe. Here our scientific evidence confirms, with a magnificent overview, the ancient awareness that we live in a *universe, a single if multiform energy event.* The unity of the entire complex of galactic systems is among the most basic experiences of contemporary physics. Although this unity of the entire world order was perceived by primitive peoples, affirmed by the great civilizations, explained in creation myths the world over, outlined by Plato in his Timaeus and given extensive presentation by Newton in his *Principia,* nowhere was the full genetic relatedness of the universe presented with such clarity as by the scientists of the 20th century. To Isaac Newton we are especially indebted for our understanding of the gravitational attraction of every physical reality to every other physical reality in the universe, an attraction that finds its ultimate fulfillment in the affective attractions that exist throughout the human community. To Darwin we are indebted for our understanding of the genetic unity of the entire web of living beings. To Einstein and his theories of relativity we are indebted for a new awareness of how to think the dynamics of relatedness in the universe.

This emerging fourth Age of Humanity, the Ecological Age, finds its major support and meaning in the differentiation, subjectivity and communion experiences of the earth. These in turn find in the Ecological Age their highest mode of fulfillment. This new age fosters an ever increasing diversification throughout the universe. Each reality at whatever level, whether in the geological or environmental structure of the planet, in the living systems spread over the earth, or in the human communities with all their varieties of expression, each finds its place in this comprehensive complex which affirms diversity as its primary commitment just as it was the primary manifestation of reality at the very first moment of the emerging world.

The Ecological Age fosters as its second principle the deeper subjectivity, the sacred presence within each reality of the universe. There is an awe and reverence due to the stars in the heavens, the sun and all heavenly bodies, to the seas and the continents, to all living forms of trees and flowers, to all the forms of life in the sea, the animals of the forests and the birds of the air. To destroy a living species is to silence forever a divine voice. The primary human need for the various forms of the planet is a psychic rather than a physical need. The Ecological Age seeks to establish and maintain this subjective identity, this authenticity at the heart of every being. If this is so of the prehuman phases of life, it is much more true of the human expression of life.

The third principle of the Ecological Age is the principle of *inter-communion* of each reality with every other reality of the universe. This aspect of the Ecological Age is of special importance. It is a final test of the human capacity to express what is the deepest reality of the universe, its capacity for mutual indwelling of all members of the universal order of being. As one scientist said in the 19th century, as Bergson repeated, and Teilhard reaffirmed: the volume of each atom is the volume of the universe, for each reality is precisely there where its influence is felt. The ancients knew this by an immediate subjective awareness. We have come to know this by objective analysis. The consequence is the same. Nothing is affected without affecting everything. This is the very nature of every ecosystem, from the smallest area of life to the galactic systems themselves.

A Transitional Phase

Only such an Ecological Age can produce the understanding and the corresponding commitment required to stop the world of exploitation, of manipulation, of illusory money values, of mutual human abuse, of destructive violence so intense that it threatens to put the torch not only to the human city but to the planet itself. We have now acquired the power to turn the earth itself into a vast conflagration. But while we stop one world situation we must create another. Thus the need to awaken the energies needed to create the new world, to evoke a universal communion of all living and non-living systems of the universe. So far, however, this new world-order has not had its adequate presentation. Yet when it comes we will see that it will take the form of the Ecological Age. This age can provide the historical dynamism formerly associated with the Marxist Classless Society, the Age of Plenty envisaged by the Capitalist Nations, and the Millenial Age of Peace envisaged in the Apocalypse of John the Divine.

At the present, however, we are in that phase of transition that can be described as the groping phase. We are like the musician that faintly hears a melody in his mind but not clearly enough to play it through, or like a poet whose vision is too formless to put into precise words. This is the inner agony we experience especially when we consider that the music, the poem, the drama we are creating is the very reality of the universe.

It would be easier for us if we would remember that the earth itself as the primary energy is finding its way both to interior conscious expression in humanity and to outer fulfillment in the universe. We can solve nothing by dreaming up some ephemeral structure of reality or by giving the direction of the earth over to our bureaucratic institutions. We must simply respond to the urgencies imposed on us by an interior energy that holds the stars within the galactic clusters, that shaped the planet under our feet, that has guided life through its bewildering variety of expression, and that has found even higher expression in the exotic tribes and nations, languages, literatures, arts and music, social forms, religious rituals and spiritual disciplines over the surface of the planet. There is reason to believe that those mysterious forces that have guided earthly events thus far have not suddenly collapsed under the great volume of human affairs in this late 20th century.

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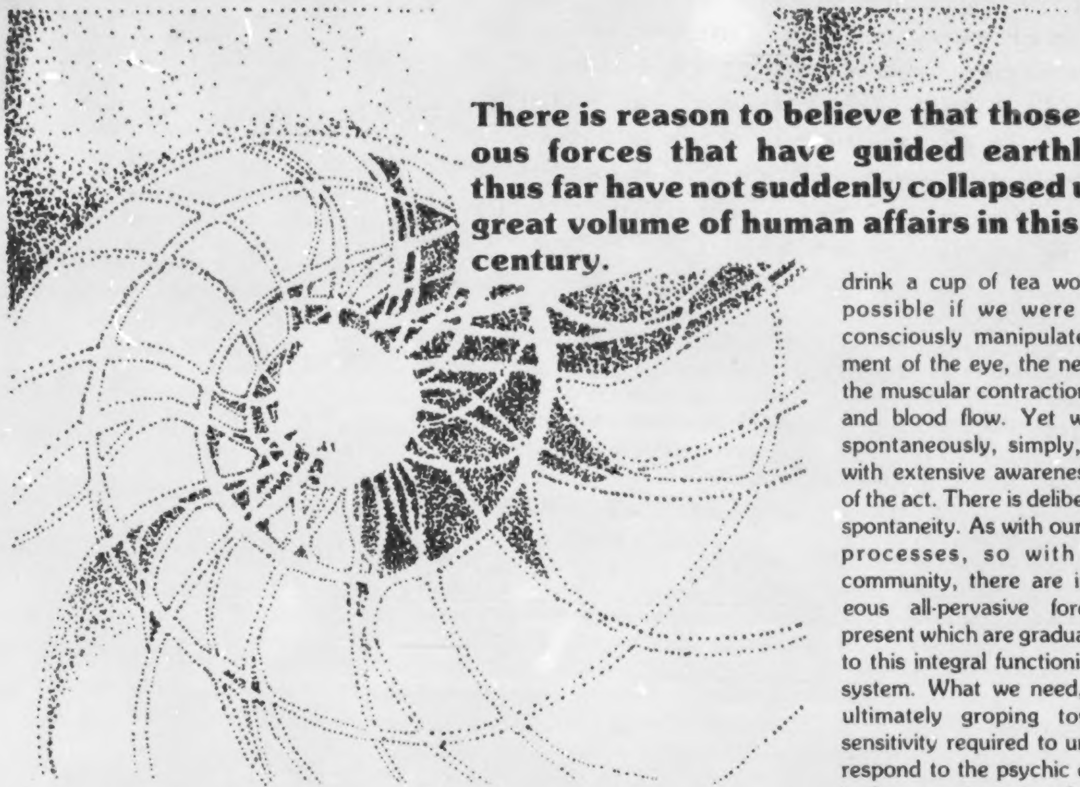


Toward Humanity's Adulthood

What is clear is that the earth is mandating that the human community assume a responsibility never assigned to any previous generation. We are involved in a process somewhat akin to initiation processes which have been known and practiced by human beings from the earliest times. Humankind is passing out of its stage of childhood into its adult stage of life. The human community must now assume adult responsibilities. As the maternal bonds are broken on one level to be reestablished on another level in initiation ceremonies, so the human community is being separated from the dominance of Mother Earth on one level to establish a new and more mature relationship on another level. In the prior period the earth acted independently as the complete controlling principle; only limited control over existence was assigned to humans. Now the Earth insists that humanity accept greater responsibility, a responsibility commensurate with the greater knowledge communicated and available to the species.

This responsibility has so far been more than humans could use wisely, just as the new powers of young adults are powers they seldom use without an intervening period of confusion, of embarassment, of juvenile mistakes. As the child eventually learns a more mature mode of conduct, discipline, and responsibility within a limited order, so now people as individuals and as a planetary community will, we may hope, learn their earth responsibilities. Already people shopping for daily household needs know something about the relation of aerosol spray cans to the cosmic radiation. The driver of a car knows now of the poisons injected into the atmosphere. This knowledge is leading to actions that reflect a sense of higher responsibility.

Our problem is, of course, the problem of the human community at all its levels, at the individual, family and city levels, then at the national and pan-human level, until finally we come to the integral context of the total earth process. Here I would observe that human administration of the universe is far too great a task for any controlled process on the part of humanity, just as the movement of the arm to pick up and drink a cup of tea would be hardly possible if we were required to consciously manipulate each movement of the eye, the nervous system, the muscular contractions, the oxygen and blood flow. Yet we do the act spontaneously, simply, immediately, with extensive awareness and control of the act. There is deliberation but also spontaneity. As with our earth in all its processes, so with the human community, there are inner spontaneous all-pervasive forces that are present which are gradually responding to this integral functioning of the total system. What we need, what we are ultimately groping toward, is the sensitivity required to understand and respond to the psychic energies, deep in the very structure of reality itself.

As the child in transition to maturity is groping toward a disciplined understanding and response to the emerging forces within his/her own being so now our knowledge and our control is not absolute knowledge or absolute control. It is a cooperative understanding and response to forces that will bring about a proper unfolding of the earth process if we do not ourselves obstruct or distort these forces that seek their proper expression.

I suggest that this is the ultimate lesson of physics, biology, and all the sciences, as it is the ultimate wisdom of the Shamanic personality of tribal peoples, and the fundamental teaching of the great civilizations. If this has been obscured by the adolescent aspect of our earlier scientific and technological development, it is now becoming clear to humankind on an extensive scale. If responded to properly with our new knowledge and new competencies these forces will find expression in the spontaneities of the new Ecological Age. To assist in bringing this about is the present task of the new Science, the new Ethics, and new Education, the new Human.

Can we ever emerge from the sea of intertwined realities and complexities inherited and unlocked by ourselves on our strange little planet in the universe? This is the main challenge of our time and we will need much optimism, vision and determination to keep civilization on its upward path.

Since 1948, Robert Muller has given service to the United Nations. At the present time, he is Director and Deputy to the Under-Secretary General for Inter-Agency Affairs and Co-ordination. His sphere of activity is very extensive, directing the overall work of thirty specialized agencies and programs ranging from political affairs to the environment and natural disasters, from space communication to water problems, from solar energy to biology and art. He is the author of Most of All, They Taught Me Happiness, *published by Doubleday in 1978.*

The greatest current priorities of humankind are the arms race and arms sales; the question of economic injustices and poverty; the problem of human rights; the necessity to strengthen considerably international cooperation; and the problem of world democracy, or "who speaks for the people?". This last issue is not even discussed in the United Nations. One day there will be a world democracy. But now the world community is simply made up of those who are in power. How they came into power is another matter and is seldom questioned. At this stage of political evolution, all one can hope for is peace, restraint and cooperation among the tenants of power. But at some point of human history, the question of the proper representation of the people in the management of world affairs will pose itself most certainly.

I have now worked in the world organization for thirty years. I have learned from it more than I would have learned from any university or school on Earth, and I continue to learn every day, for the UN has become the greatest observatory of human affairs that ever was. It is an entirely new event, a paradigm in our evolution. I am in charge of the coordination of the specialized agencies. There are today thirty-two specialized agencies and world programmes. This is a fact of major historical importance. Most of these agencies are known to you. They cover a large array of human concerns, from aviation to the atom, from children to workers, from agriculture to industry, from navigation to trade and finance, from economic development to the environment, from health and science to art and culture.

As a result, governments possess today the embryo of a world system of diagnosis, discussion, consultation monitoring, prognosis and action which allows them to deal with old, as well as with new emerging planetary problems. These instruments and agencies provide humankind with the most up-to-date, enlightened perceptions.

One Planet In A Billion

Thus, today, when reading in my office a recent paper on extraterrestrial messages published by the UN Outer-space Committee, I learned something quite fundamental. In it, astrophysicists calculated the likelihood of other civilizations in the universe. They started from the billions of galaxies and the more than two hundred billion stars or suns in our own galaxy. They calculated the probability of planets in belts located at a certain distance from stable suns, i.e., stars whose light hydrogen explosions have reached stability.

This is the case of our sun which will now be safe and stable for another six to eight billion years. In addition to a minimum length in stability in solar radiation, life requires a certain size of a planet as a condition for the evolution and maintenance of a favourable atmosphere, a certain chemical composition of the surface of the planet and a rather narrow range of temperature, i.e., the planet must be located neither too near nor too far from a sun. After reviewing these factors, the astrophysicists introduce another element: the number of civilizations in the universe further depends on the length of life of such civilizations. The longer civilizations are able to survive and to develop, the larger their total number will be in the universe. And then comes this fundamental statement: *the length of life of a civilization depends on its capability to solve environmental and social problems;* the civilization must not destroy itself soon after it masters the technical means to do so. Our own civilization stands now at this precise crucial threshold. Two momentous questions have indeed been put to us during the last few decades:

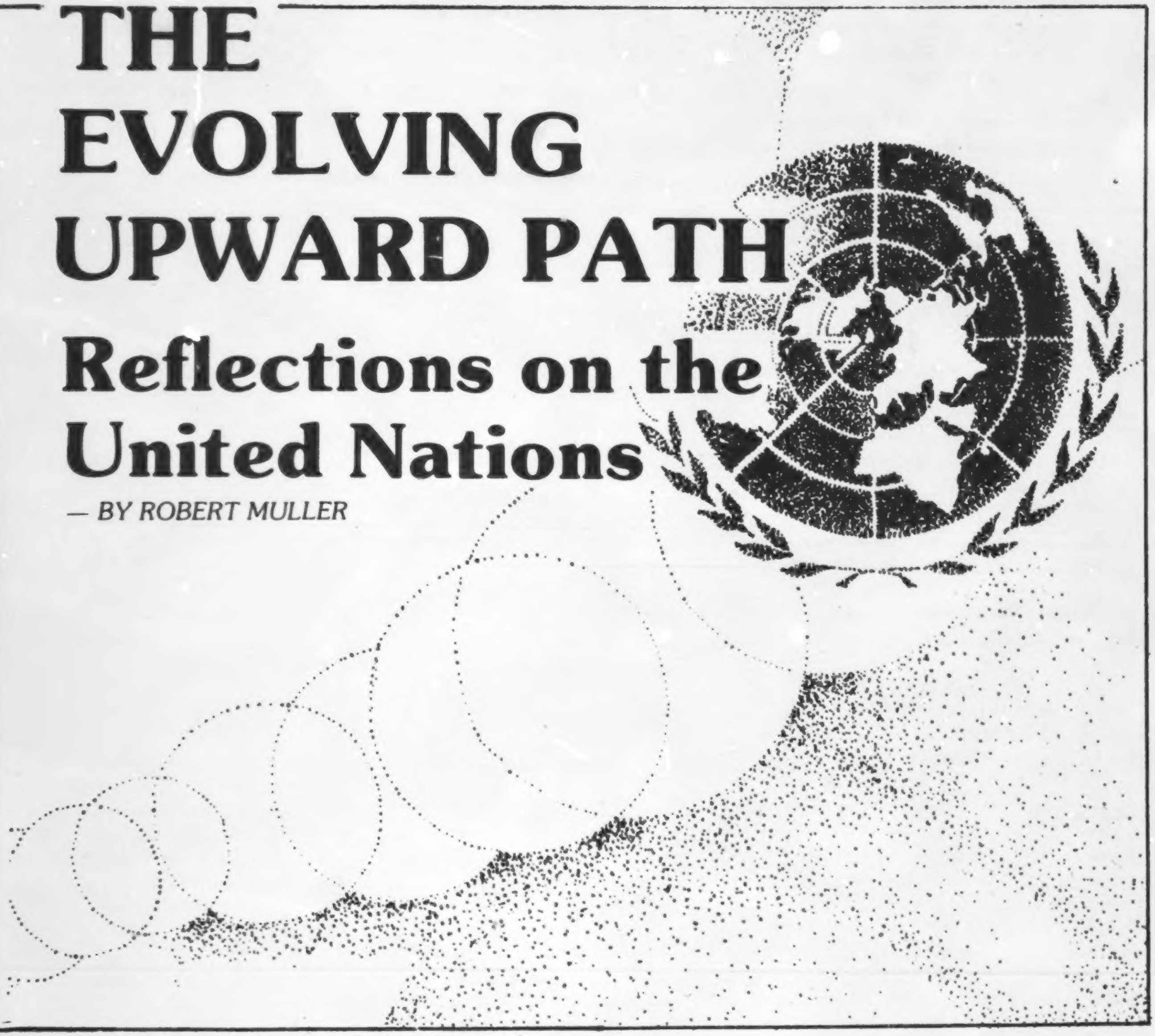
—How are we going to deal with our environment, how will we manage it and further survive and develop in it without destroying certain vital conditions inherited from billions of years of prior evolution?

—How will we manage to live peacefully and cooperatively together among races, nations, cultures and so many other human groups and interests? Will we be able to refrain from using the life annihilating arms

THE EVOLVING UPWARD PATH

Reflections on the United Nations

— BY ROBERT MULLER



developed to protect, assert and foster those specific groups produced by historic facts and called nations?

For the astrophysicists, the problem is very simple: either you do it or you don't. If you don't, you will disappear and the universe will not change for that a bit.

Framework on the Planet

Having to deal with so many problems, the complexity of which increases every day, I had to choose between giving up or developing a scheme which permitted me to see a specific problem at its right place within a logical scheme, so that the totality makes sense, as does our individual being, our planet and our universe despite their respective complexities. The framework which I have come to retain in order to classify and store each problem which reaches my desk consists of the following three categories:

—the physical, non-human cosmos;
—the human, social cosmos;
—the personal, individual cosmos.

The Physical Cosmos

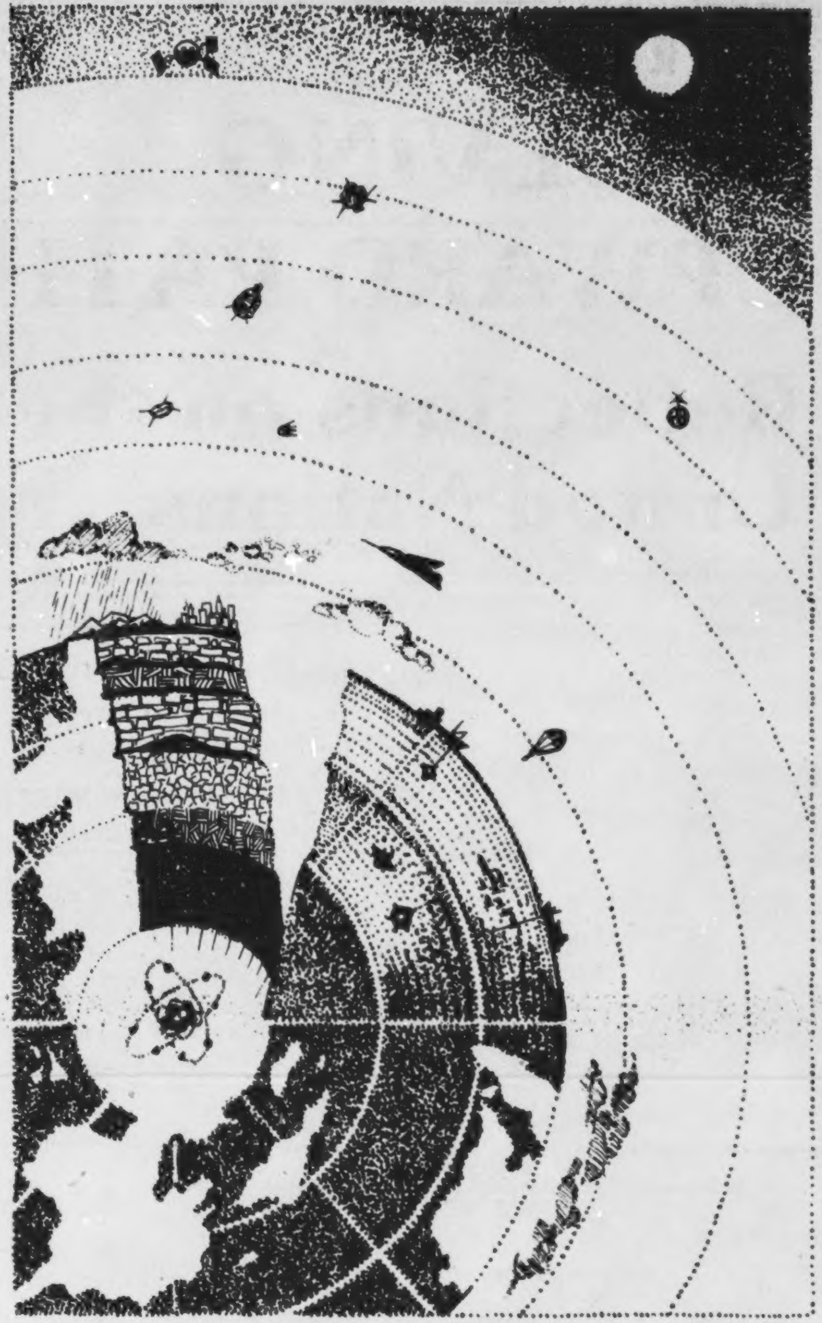
In *the physical, non-human cosmos* I include all other life forms except humans. In other words, we are human beings, members of a well-defined species with its definite characteristics which lives in the particular circumstances and environment of a specific planet. Our first knowledge, our first great adventure in evolution has to do with this outside world, the surroundings, the totality of our planetary conditions and our relations with the sun. We must know our house, our dwelling, our place of abode in the universe and what it has to offer, favourable or detrimental to human life. On that score, the human race has made prodigious progress over its history and more particularly during the last thirty years.

Humans have extended their

knowledge of the universe hundreds of times during the last decades. They have penetrated ever deeper into the infinitely small, the atom, the cell, the genes. At each level, at each layer of this prodigious spatial distribution of the given reality, scientists, technologists, thinkers and research institutions are working relentlessly to extend our knowledge and further uncover that reality. The totality of our current knowledge culminates in the United Nations and in its specialized agencies where governments thus obtain a planetary view of the human environment. As a result we are beginning to have a comprehensive grasp of our relationships and place on our planet, of the planet inself and of its place, structure and functioning in relation to the sun.

I am sometimes tempted to draw an enormous table on one of the walls of my office, presenting in a vertical form the layers of our prodigious knowledge from the infinitely large to the infinitely small and showing for each layer how humans are cooperating in their world organizations where they draw a synthesis and conclusions from that knowledge. The table would reach from astrophysics and interplanetary science to solar science and outer space, the Earth's atmosphere and its layers (the ionosphere and troposphere), the biosphere, the seas and oceans, the continents, the Earth's surface and soils, the climate, the world's waters, energy, the depth of the Earth's crust (minerals, underground water, heat, oil, etc.), the bottoms of the seas, other living species, the microbial, genetic and planktonic world, the infinitely small physical world of the atom, its particles and sub-particles, etc. Practically nothing has been left out in the search for total comprehension and possible mastery of the environment. This story of knowledge has been a fascinating and extremely successful one. A complete Copernican tapestry is emerging for which our civilization would probably receive a high mark among the civilizations in the universe.

Noteworthy also is the fact that we have taken stock on an all-planetary scale of our total knowledge in a series of remarkable world conferences held during recent years. These have dealt with outer space, the environment, science and technology, the world's seas and oceans, water, food and deserts, to mention only those which were concerned with our physical, non-human environment. They were the first world conferences ever held on this planet. The fact that all nations on Earth were able to cooperate in these tremendous ventures augurs well for our future civilizations. They mark the beginning of a science of planetary management which has become all the more necessary now that our own actions are able to change the given environment very fundamentally.



The Human Social Cosmos

We have accomplished infinitely less progress with regard to our *human or social cosmos*. All the people on Earth constitute together an entity, a cosmos. Regarding the quantitative aspects of that cosmos we have made some good progress: we had a world population conference; we know how many we are; we know where we live; we know how long we live; and we have projections of the future for the next hundred years. The UN's work on demography is another signal achievement of the new global institutions. Much less progress, however, has been achieved on the qualitative and "living" aspects of the total human cosmos. It is true, much has been done on humanity's economic and social conditions, but there is no true anthropological science, no physiology, no sociology, no psychology, no modern philosophy for the human race as a whole.

Even more troublesome is the fact that little attention has been paid to the reasons for humans to associate, to assert a group, to fight for it, to glorify it, to place it above other groups, including humanity, to seek advantages, to belittle and to denigrate others. The total cosmos of these social groups is so complex that it seems almost unmanageable. People coalesce in a race, a nation, a language, a religion, a culture, a region, a continent, an alliance, an ideology, and they live and behave as if that group were the most important one on Earth. We have at this moment a multiplicity of groups founded on old as well as new beliefs, interests and common characteristics. Many believe that they hold the ultimate truth, that others are wrong and that the rest of the world should accept their truth, way of life and beliefs. The sociology of this cosmos has barely retained humanity's attention. I will return to this in a moment, when trying to determine how "right human relations" can be established and what progress is being made.

The Personal Cosmos

Finally, the last cosmos which is of importance to you and to me, is *the personal or individual cosmos*, that miracle of temporary consciousness, matter, energy, spirit, mind and heart, linked with the rest of the world and its elements, but also self-contained, autonomous and well-defined as are all other cosmoses from the infinitely large to the infinitely small. As regards the individual, humanity has made enormous progress. Our physical, material life has improved immensely: food, health, shelter, security, mobility are available to more humans than at any previous period of evolution. Our lives are longer than ever before. Of course, this progress has not yet reached equally all regions of the world, but there is constant progress as is evidenced in the UN agencies and fora concerned with the problems of health, food, nutrition, industry and housing. We have made enormous progress in eradicating major diseases and epidemics, in better understanding the nutrition and functioning of the physical body, how it can be improved, lengthened and perhaps someday arrive at no less than perfection. New problems of course also arise as we change the environment. In the affluent countries, the major diseases are now brought about by the new environment: cancer, heart diseases and accidents.

A complete Copernican tapestry is emerging for which our civilization would probably receive a high mark among the civilizations of the universe.

In the realm of the mind, each of us knows more today than any king or emperor in the past. For a few dollars we can buy a paperback describing the universe. In the last twenty years more than six hundred million more people have become literate. The fulfillment of the human person from the point of view of knowledge has been prodigious, to the point that the environment again is moving in on us: too many ideas, too many writings, too much news, too many claims of truth, quality and novelty, a saturation and complexity which bewilders, creates anxiety and unhappiness, and often drives the individual away from his civilization.

There has been considerably less progress on the moral, sentimental and spiritual planes, although some advances are noteworthy on fundamental human rights, world solidarity and humanitarian aid, as well as a revival of spirituality. But science and the arts of living have lagged considerably behind, neglecting to explore and develop the immense possibilities offered by the human heart and soul. This transcendence is not even discussed in the world fora. The scientific and industrial revolution have paid little attention to the fundamental question: "Why am I on Earth? How do I relate to the universe, to creation, to the eternal stream of time? What is the meaning and purpose of life? What is the sense of it all?" These philosophical and spiritual questions have not yet reached the United Nations as an institution, but they were powerfully incarnated in individuals such as Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant.

In summary, one could say that progress is considerable in the cosmic field of science and knowledge of the external world; that progress is being made towards the increased fulfillment and flowering of individual life, especially in the material and intellectual fields; but that progress is lagging most behind in the social cosmos. To give just an example: while the world abounds with religious, moral, ethical and legal precepts for the behaviour and conduct of the individual, there is barely the beginning of similar ethics for the conduct of institutions, including the most powerful of all, namely, armed nations. For a private person to kill another human is a crime. For a nation to kill wholesale is heroism. Is this situation hopeless? Can we ever emerge from the sea of intertwined realities and complexities inherited and unlocked by ourselves on our strange little planet in the universe? This is the main challenge of our time and we will need much optimism, vision and determination to keep civilization on its upward path.

For science the future is bright: there remains so much to be uncovered and investigated in innumerable fields; for the human being, progress is needed with regard to interiority, morality and spirituality, and more generally for the achievement of happiness, which is the culmination of the miracle of life. But what can be done with regard to the social cosmos?

A Gigantic Adaptation

In this respect, nobody knows today how the world will look in a hundred years. Existing groups are protecting themselves, including with frightful arms if necessary. They are trying to gain ground over each other in a thousand overt and covert ways. New groups such as the transnational corporations are being born and progressing rapidly. Is this situation hopeless? Will we never see decent, happy, peaceful, orderly, satisfying human relations on this planet? Someday it will all work out for the best of the human species, but we do not know when and how, for this gigantic biological process of adaptation has only begun in its final, worldwide phase. In this regard there are a few basic trends and hopeful areas which one can discern.

To hold the human family together, to permit the further ascent, to prevent it from losing ground and falling into the abyss of despair and abandonment, we must have a constant vision, a dream for the human family.

The first and fundamental task is to prevent these groups from slaughtering each other and blowing up our planet and life in the process. This is the most immediate priority during the present Prometheun period of change. The first thing to do at this juncture of evolution, whenever a conflict is about to break out or whenever power—new or old—is beginning to grow excessively, is *to build bridges*. This is one of the fundamental and historical tasks of the United Nations: constantly to build bridges, constantly to let off steam so that tensions and pressures, be they territorial claims, poverty, injustice, inequality, violation of human rights, etc., are prevented from creating havoc. Thus, each year at the end of three months of General Assembly, statesmen have learned something from each other, they have become a little more reasonable, they better understand the other person's point of view. There is a little more give and take, and as a result, progressively, we are moving more closely towards each other in the consideration and understanding of our common fate on planet Earth.

This is the most important task we must perform for the moment and it is taking place in dozens of world agencies and innumerable meetings on practically every conceivable subject—difference and tension. Once the last conflicts will have disappeared, the heads of government will discover a completely new world in the making, a new age of which they had no idea but which they helped themselves to prepare in the network of international organizations and efforts they created. These are becoming a sort of brain, heart, nervous system and soul for the human species.

Another source of hope for the improvement of human relations is the fact that governments and other large institutions are beginning to discover that *they cannot win it all* and that within our biosphere, our planet, our solar system and the universe they are after all not so great and so powerful. They are beginning to understand that there are innumerable forces at work at the present stage of evolution and that within the framework of our given reality and resources they cannot pursue very far their dreams of total power and truth. I have accompanied the Secretary General to several state visits. Everywhere, leaders of nations considered the environment to be the most important problem of our planet. They were right. They knew that this new force was moving in on us most forcefully and that it provided them with opportunities to cooperate and put somewhat aside the old ideologies and idiosyncrasies they had inherited from their predecessors and in which they often no longer believe.

The phenomenon of ecumenism is a major development of our time: it is a new philosophy which has helped religions to stop hating and fighting each other in the name of God. It will now also help nations to stop slaughtering each other in the name of national sovereignty.

This new planetary understanding of the global conditions of human life on Earth is one of our greatest chances. The new conditions will change the political scene and political thinking for ages to come. World cooperation has become a powerful asset, brought about by the deep forces which are at work in the present phase of evolution.

Who Speaks For The Human Family?

There is another area where considerable progress can be made by the peoples themselves, by the individual as an autonomous free-willed cosmos with a profound influence during one's lifetime on family, community, nation, religion or profession: the emergence and advancement of the notion of the *human family*. In the midst of the deafening claims of so many groups, who speaks for the human family? I recognize that all races are important, that all nations are important, that all religions are important, that East, West, North and South are important, but what about *humanity as a whole?* What attention, what priority does that supreme family of all receive in our civilization, in the media, in the schools, in literature, in the arts, in churches, in our homes?

As for me, after having lived through a horrible war and an uncertain peace, after having seen my own family torn between two nations, I have decided long ago that the only realities that matter for me are planet Earth, humanity, my family and my own life. All other groups are in constant change: their borders, their priorities, their power, their allegiances, change, etc. But the planet, humanity, the natural family and the miracle of individual life, are permanent realities in our cosmic presence and adventure. We do not do enough for the human family.

Therefore, if you are an anthropologist, I would beg you to help develop a science of total human anthropology and study the new global concerns and organs which are being born to the human race. If you are a psychologist, please help to develop a science of world psychology. Why do we have a world youth problem at the same time in most countries? Why are there world scares? Why do people experience a psychological togetherness in world olympics? Could we not develop world musical and other art competitions? There are so many beautiful and useful things the world's peoples could do together. There is a world psychology, because today there is a world public opinion due to rapid communications. The same is true of world philosophy, world sociology and world spirituality. Where are the philosophers who have the courage to speak out for the whole human race?

If Christ Came Back To Earth

If Kant were alive today he would come to the United Nations and rewrite his Project for Perpetual Peace. If Christ came back to Earth one of his first visits would be to the United Nations to see if his dream of human oneness had become true. He would be happy to see representatives of all nations, North and South, East and West, rich and poor, believers and non-believers, young and old, Philistines and Samaritans, try to find answers to the perennial questions of human destiny and fulfillment. But how many questions and criticisms would he have? Would he not say that without asking ourselves the fundamental questions of life and of our place in the universe, we will never make it?

In Need of a Dream

This is most important. I have observed during my life that it is difficult to hold together any human group for long if there is not a vision, an ideal, an objective, a dream. To hold the human family together, to permit its further ascent, to prevent it from losing ground and falling into the abyss of despair and abandonment, we must have a constant vision, a dream for the human family. We will not swim forever in the present sea of complexity if we are not shown a shore. Unfortunately when one looks at the curricula of schools and universities, at the media and literature one does not find any shores. The dreams of peace, of world cooperation and of the United Nations are all too often scoffed at and ignored as hopeless fantasies. Of course, they become hopeless by the mere fact of the disbelief of the people. Peace and right human relations are not the sole matter of governments and international agencies. They are the matter of every human being. There is an immense power for peace and good in the four billion people of this planet. No government can remain insensitive to them. The development of peace, justice, cooperation and the United Nations rests largely in the hands of the people.

A Worldwide Bimillenium Celebration

Never should one underestimate the real power of people and of their dreams, if they really want to be heard. This is why on the occasion of the last Earth Day, I proposed that humanity should hold in the year 2000 *a worldwide Bimillenium Celebration* preceded by unparalleled thinking, perception, inspiration, elevation, planning and love for the achievement of a peaceful and happy human society on Earth.

The World of the Heart

I would like to signal another domain where there could be new hope and progress for a further ascent in human relations: *the world of the heart*. During the last three hundred years, humanity's progress has been essentially of an intellectual and material nature. With Descartes in France started the imperialism of reason without much room or respect for sentiment. Scientists and thinkers thought that everything could be solved, explained and furthered by means of pure physical manipulation and intellect. We seem to have come to the end of that belief. How many times do we see in the United Nations that world problems are insoluble due to the excessive intelligence of the antagonists? Piles of arguments are mounting endlessly on each side with no solution in sight. Usually it takes a great statesman to brush all this aside and to decide to meet with the adversary, forget about all arguments and find a peaceful solution simply because one wants to find one.

In diplomatic and political science faculties young people are being taught the intricacies of intellectualism and systematic falsehoods: lies are called "negotiating positions" and the truth is called a "fall-position". With such immorality we will go nowhere.

Freud had pointed to the right path is his famous reply to Einstein in 1932, when he said that the instinct of aggression in man could only be counteracted by the development of love or sentiment. Hence his recommendation to develop ties of sentiment or love for world affairs and institutions. He considered the League of Nations to be an experiment without precedent which would call into play certain idealistic attitudes of mind, an identification with the totality of the group, and in the end might hold the world together.

Humanity has done marvels in the last few hundred years in developing human senses and comprehension through stupendous scientific and technological inventions: our eyesight has been multiplied by the thousands through giant telescopes, radars, television, electronic microscopes, etc. Our hearing has been extended through sonars, telephones, radio, space communications and microwaves. Our hands have been metamorphosed into gigantic factories and automatic processes. Our brains have been expanded through the use of incredible computers. And this march of science and intelligence will go on, uncovering a heretofore unknown reality which exists all around us, unseen, since the beginnings of time. But there is no reason for downgrading the heart and the soul. The miracles of science must be repeated now in the fields of sentiment, human psychology and interiority. Human beings must again be seen as total beings, able to fulfill themselves and to act with the full capacity of the qualities deposited in us by God or by evolution. Once this is done, most problems will fall into place and become soluble.

In order to see right, to think right and to act right we must see our place in the total universe and stream of time, as all great prophets, spiritual leaders and philosophers have told us since the beginnings of time. We must absolutely restore the great moral force of love, compassion, truthfulness, human bonding and hope in the human destiny which have always been at the root of civilization. They alone will enable us to see the light and great simplicity of the pattern of evolution amidst the complexities, obscurities and anxieties of the present time.

A Revolution in Education

Finally, I would like to make a few remarks on *education*. The human family is being continuously renewed: every hour about 6000 people die and 15,000 people are born. All these newcomers have to be educated in the perception and art of living, so as to fulfill the miracle of life they have been given. In this chain, the knowledge and wisdom transmitted is constantly at a higher level. Education starts with the mother and in the home, and is later continued in educational institutions. Babies are born with an open mind and then are "wired in" by education and their social environment. Education is probably the most important problem we have to face on this planet. Children are "wired in" with slanted values and distorted information about our globe, its people and the human destiny.

Children need an honest view of the world into which they are born. We must give them a global view of the planet's marvels and conditions, of the human family and its rich diversity, we must give them to understand that they are a cosmos of their own endowed with the miracle of life among innumerable brothers and sisters on our planet. We must tell children they are a unique happening in the universe which will never be repeated again in exactly the same form. They must know how to relate to the skies, to the stars, to the sun, to the infinite, to time, to the human family, to the planet, and to the social cosmoses around them. They must know they have only a few short years to live and learn to consider how they will live and what will become of them after they die. Children must learn a story which has no longer anything to do with idealism but which is common fact derived by the collective efforts of the human species to learn and to understand.

This will be an enormous task. It will require a real revolution in education which is not yet in sight but which will happen sooner or later. Education is really the key to everything. I remember how our former Secretary General, U Thant, who was a teacher himself, often said to me: "Robert, we are too old to bring about the necessary changes in the world. Only the younger generation can do it. And for that, education is the key". This is why he supported so strongly international schools and proposed the creation of a United Nations University which exists today. It was his dream that one University on this planet would give all other universities this global view and inspiration needed for a peaceful society and the right human relations. There is so much prejudice in ourselves. We have constant allegiances and preferences for the groups instead of the total human family. We make absolutes of what should be only relative. It is built into us, it is "wired in". But bridges are being built. We are learning from each other. We are more peaceful than we ever were. We are making constant progress in human relations. We no longer act towards each other like wild, scared animals.

We will not swim together in the present sea of complexity if we are not shown a shore. Unfortunately, when one looks at the curriculum of universities and schools one does not find any shores.

I am convinced that this process of learning will also extend progressively to nations, human groups and institutions. We are entering one of the most fascinating and challenging eras of human evolution. In order to meet this challenge we must be able to rely upon a vastly increased number of people with a world-view. We need world servers in many fields: in the UN and the budding new world institutions, in churches, in world companies, in transnational professional associations. Even if progress at the level of the child may still be distant due to the idiosyncrasies of national education, at least at the university level, the time has come to make progress and to establish entirely new world curricula aimed at the needs of the global society. As a matter of fact we are receiving more and more requests at the UN for help in establishing such new curricula.

Within the United Nations system, UNESCO is in charge of promoting a better world education. They have published much material for school children and have organized with the United Nations many meetings with national curriculum designers. We are also helped in this task by private associations such as the United Nations Association-USA, Global Education Associates, the Institute for World Order, etc. But the distance between present education and the goals to be accomplished is enormous.

There is, however, increased awareness that something is wrong. I have been called recently to defend my views to a meeting of deans of international affairs of some of the most prestigious American universities. They had definitely the feeling that their curricula were no longer satisfactory. Alaska Methodist University recently asked me to design for them what I would consider to be a proper curriculum for world affairs and I did so. But then the problem arose how such a curriculum could fit into the requirements set by the Federal government for accreditation. But there, too, I can notice of late a preoccupation with a more proper global education. A little essay I wrote on "The Need for Global Education", published by The New Era and the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia on the occasion of the American Bicentennial, has had an enormous distribution.

"Face the World"

The media, in particular, do not have a grasp of the new world which is in the making. I could tell you of endless efforts I am pursuing to obtain a better understanding of that reality. For example, I have a correspondence with the President of CBS, asking him why they have a programme called "Face the Nation" and not a programme, "Face the World", and with Time-Life editions, why there is nothing on the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the world conferences and other similar world efforts in their otherwise remarkable Nature and Science series which comprises

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volumes on the seas and oceans, the deserts, the world's water, the world's mountains, etc. My point is always to say: governments, especially the U.S.A., are spending a lot of good money for their international agencies in order to work towards a better world. Is it not your responsibility to take account of that and to tell your children that it is not such a lousy world, that many good efforts are being pursued by many good people from all around our planet? This is the least one should expect from the media, but alas, they prefer to speak about the UN when something is wrong or scandalous, accusing you the public that this is all you are interested in.

"UN We Listen"

Publishing firms also show minimal interest for the United Nations. The books you will find are generally negative or written by people who come for a few weeks as delegates and then smear the world organization in the eyes of the public. Great authors have not yet found the marvellous subjects literature could find in humanity's transcultural adventure and march towards oneness in diversity. There is something wrong all around in the prevalent comprehension of our age and era of transition.

In particular, very few people have learned to express value judgments in terms of what is good for our planet and the human race as a whole. For example, each UN conference is being evaluated very differently according to national or group positions: for the developing countries the world population conference went too far and for the Americans it did not go far enough. The reverse is true for the Stockholm conference on the environment. Very few are those who would judge these conferences and the United Nations from the point of view of humanity: the world population conference was good because it warned the people of a trend that was getting out of hand. As a result, governments adopted more proper population policies. The environment conference was good because again it warned the world of a most catastrophic course. Again, governments went home, created Ministries of the environment and adopted new legislation and international treaties.

For the human race all this is good and it should be said so. Future historians, when they review the last decades of our century, will undoubtedly conclude that the United Nations has saved the world from many catastrophies. But the people of today have great difficulty in seeing that. I could give you numerous other examples, including early warnings which were not heeded, for example the 1961 UN conference on new sources of energy which predicted an energy crisis and recommended that governments pay attention to solar energy, geothermal energy, etc. There is a private organization called "UN We Believe" which helps the United Nations greatly, but sometimes I wish we had also an organization called "UN We Listen".

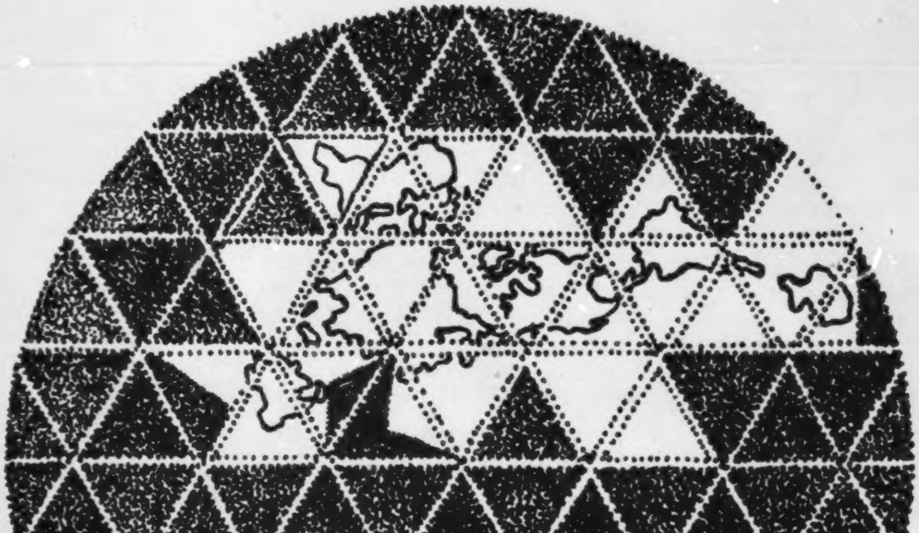
Toward the Success of the Human Race

To conclude, may I express my firm conviction that the human race will succeed some day in establishing world peace, cooperation and right human relations and that such day may not be quite as far off as we may think. I come from the border between two countries, France and Germany. I have seen hatred and horrors which I could not have imagined as a young human being. If someone would have told me at that time that peace would someday bless that region and that France and Germany would become friendly to each other, I would not have believed it. And yet it happened! What has become possible between two arch-enemies like France and Germany can also become possible for the entire world. Humanity has been able to avoid another world war duing one of the most dangerous periods ever in evolution. Now we see detente and the beginnings of cooperation. When I observe the degree of cooperation that already exists at the UN and in the various world agencies, I can only conclude that we are at long last on the right path and that we will find progressively the proper human relations on this planet. I would even say more: I firmly believe that humanity will be able to elevate human life to unprecedented levels and achieve a happy society on Earth. We have this possibility. We have been given by God or evolution the means, the intelligence, the heart and the soul necessary for that. As distinct from other living species we have the capacity to raise ourselves to higher levels of fulfillment and consciousness. Therefore, in spite of much foolishness, nonsensical armaments and risks of accidents, I would unhesitatingly throw my gauntlet in favour of the success of the human race. The battle of right human relations which started thousands of years ago on this planet will someday be won, and I think rather soon.

BUILDING THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF WORLD ORDER

A SURVEY OF GLOBAL LEVEL POLICY DEVELOPMENT FROM 1945 to 1977

BY ROBERT H. MANLEY



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OVERVIEW AND INTRODUCTION BY PATRICIA MISCHE

The fact that the following survey by Robert Manley could have been made at all is the result of an unprecendented and only recently emerging trend in human consciousness and social-political evolution toward world order.

Five hundred, or even fifty years ago, it would have been impossible to publish a survey of the world policy system. It is only in the last several decades that a global level policy approach has begun to emerge in a substantial way. And as Bob Manley points out, the most dramatic developments have taken place during the second half, and especially the last quarter of the thirty-three year period covered by the study. This suggests, he says, "a favorable trend, with reasonable prospects for even more rapid evolution in the years ahead."

Five hundred years ago few people, if any, had an accurate conception of even the physical characteristics and workings of the planet or its place in the universe. Most believed the earth was flat and the center of the universe. Cultures and civilizations lived in relative isolation and knew little about each other. Travel and communications systems were not developed to the point where economic, social and political interactions were possible between all major centers of civilization. Global cooperation, world problem management and a world policy system were therefore neither a necessity nor a possibility.

In the seventeenth century perceptions of the earth began to change as a result of explorations and as a result of growing credence given to the scientific discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo and others. At least some now knew the earth was not flat and that the sun was the center of the solar system. As inter-actions between areas of the world increased, a modern international law/policy system also began to emerge but in the unfortunate context of European nationalist, expansionist and colonialist competition. The focus was on inter-*nation* arrangements. It could hardly be called a *world* policy system in the sense of being formulated and implemented through a world participatory process or out of concern for *world* well being. Its goals were primarily oriented to national, regional or elite self-interest.

Even *fifty* years ago it would have been premature to speak of a world policy system or planetary problem management. By 1925 some early steps in the direction of global cooperation and policy development had been made, including the institution of formal international organizations like the International Telegraphic Union (1865), the Universal Postal Union (1874), the International Red Cross, the Permanent Court of Arbitration (Hague Tribunal) and the League of Nations (following World War I).

The League of Nations was instituted in hopes of preventing future wars and was, as such, a step towards international policy formulation. But it was not a *world* body. Its initial membership was limited to the *victors* of World War I and some neutral nations. Later, other nations, including Germany joined. But large segments of the colonized world were not represented and had no voice. It also was not very effective in world *policy* formulation, due largely to the fact that the big powers chose to make their major decisions outside the League and that it had no authority and too little financial means to implement policy goals - problems which continue to plague its successor, the United Nations.

The emergence and worldwide spread of the great social movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also were important steps in preparing the way toward global level policy development, for they focused public attention on some vital human concerns. These included worldwide struggles for the abolition of slavery, women's suffrage, worker's rights and independence from colonial rule.

But it has only been since the end of World War II that a *world* policy system has begun to emerge - largely but not exclusively throught the United Nations. This is now only in the early stages of development. Yet when one studies the Manley survey one cannot help but be impressed by the degree to which global cooperation and policy development has been advanced over the last three decades. This advance has been made despite major ideological disagreements and vast differences in culture, history and value systems. There is hardly a human concern on the planet that has not been dealt with through the United Nations. (Albeit the results have been uneven: some concerns have been approached successfully, while to others there has been little progress.

Public Policy: A Definition

What is a world public policy system? And why is this survey significant?

This survey was originally part of a larger work by Robert Manley called "The World Policy System: An Analytical and Substantive Overview," in the journal *International Comparative and Public Policy* (Vol. 2, 1978).

In that document Manley defined public policy as the formulation and implementation of goals in the public interest. he notes

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that, as generally used, the term "public" in public policy connotes both the *process* through which the policy is formulated and the *impact* of the policy on a wide segment of the population. He further distinguishes the public in public policy from *regime impositions* or "policies which cannot be viewed as focused on achieving the advancement of the public interest (as for instance those premised primarily on the financial enrichment of a ruling elite)." According to Manley goal orientation does not merit the title public policy unless in reasonable sense it can be seen as being in the interest of the population residing in the area covered by it, whether that be local, national, regional or global areas.

Public policy at the national level can thus be viewed as being developed in the interests of the people in the nation. At the world level it is developed in the interests of the people of the world. Ideally, there is a cooperative interaction between policy development at different levels so that policy at one level does not conflict with policy at another.

Policy Levels and Policy Flows in the World System

Manley points out that within the world system public policy is developing at a variety of levels, including:

a) Global (universal or virtually universal in scope)
b) Inter-regional (less than universal but not restricted to one geographic region)
c) Regional (refers to major world geographic regions, as for instance Africa or Europe)
d) Sub-regional (part of a major geographic region comprising more than one nation-state)
e) National
f) Sub-national or local (state, province, region within a nation-state, city, metropolitan area, etc.)

He also notes that "the policy process, when viewed from a multi-level perspective, can be seen as one involving not only cross-fertilization (policy flows) among the various units of a given policy level (region to region, nation to nation, city to city, etc.) and between the various levels but a 'division of labor' allowing for formulation at one level, implementation at another and evaluation at still another, (thus, for example, environmental policy may be formulated at the global level for intended implementation at the national level, with evaluation to take place primarily at the regional level.)"

Comparison of Public Policy at Global and National Levels

Manley describes policy development at the global level as being very similar in some respects to the national level. There are the same three basic steps or phases:

1. policy development (formulation)
2. policy execution (implementation)
3. policy evaluation (appraisal)

There are a wide variety of institutions and individuals *(actors)* involved in the public policy process at both levels. At the global level these are primarily nation-states operating through the U.N., along with the global and regional intergovernmental organizations created by them. Also significant are business enterprises and labor organizations with interests extending beyond a given nation-state, special and public interest groups, political parties, foundations, research institutes, churches and individuals, to name but a few. Non-governmental organizations affiliated with the United Nations and its agencies are having an increasingly more important role than in the past.

Another similarity that Manley cites at both the national and global levels is that in some circumstances policy development may be primarily "preachment, propaganda or placebo" - intended more to placate, buy time, enhance an image, or avoid true substantive change in the near future. It may also be *symbolic*, i.e. "intended to facilitate the development of public opinion and consciousness by indicating the desirability of progress toward the stated (though admittedly distant) goal."

Implementation

"Implementation of policy does not necessarily follow from policy formulation at either level," says Manley. This may be due to financial, personnel, technological or other factors. Whatever the reason, "implementation cannot be assumed," says Manley. "It requires political will as well as bureaucratic (and other) resources and capabilities."

One of the significant aspects of the Manley study is that it appraises the degree to which implementation of global level policy is occurring. Manley suggests that "it is sometimes difficult if not impossible to determine at the time of their promulgation whether declarations are intended as 'policy in action' or for largely symbolic purposes. However, where meaningful action is not taken toward implementation within a reasonable time, the declaration should be stripped of legitimacy as policy. That is, the term policy should be restricted to use with regard to statements of goals which are feasible in terms of actual achievement and as to which follow up actions in fact ensues."

International Law and Global Policy

Global level public policy approaches differ from international law, although they are parallel, overlap and have common concerns. A principal distinction is that international law is policy of a *binding* nature (law providing the binding quality) and global policy may or may not have a binding (legal) element. As Manley puts it, in its present state of development "global policy is more frequently declarative in nature and if a binding element ensues, this will often take place at the national rather than the global level. It is hypothesized that the proportion of international policy which is not reflected in international law is growing - that is, non-binding policy is growing at the global level more rapidly than that of a binding nature."

The consequences and pros and cons of this growing gap (between non-binding policy development and effective world law) is not discussed by Manley. But some questions should probably be raised here for future debate and consideration:

1) Would the growth of global consciousness, cooperation and problem solving be enhanced or curtailed if policy formulation and implementation depended on agreement under law and legal mechanisms at the global level? In what cases curtailed and in what cases enhanced?

2) In cases where the binding nature of law seems necessary for effective policy implementation, when should national or regional mechanisms be utilized or developed and when and what type of *global* level mechanisms and processes are essential?

The Survey

The Manley survey examines forty-eight issues in the global community around which the world's nations have formulated goals in the interest of advancing their common future and well being. The study cites conventions, treaties and other agreements made in each issue area. It also cites the mechanisms and structures created at the global level to facilitate implementation and the types of activities undertaken at national, regional and global levels towards a realization of goals. Manley appraises the evolution of policy development in each issue area according to how progress made to date measures up against the imperatives for human survival and development.

A detailed appraisal of progress in each issue area is contained in the body of the survey, which is published in full on succeeding pages. There are, however, some overall findings which merit special attention here. The following findings are quoted from the larger Manley study.

FINDINGS

1) Significant Growth in Global Level Policy

In an overall sense, during the thirty-three year period covered by the survey, global level policy has developed to a remarkable extent. However, the record is spotty, with trends in some issue areas reasonably congruent with imperatives of the historical situation, whereas in others transformation fell far short of what was required. Areas in which rapid policy development can be noted included decolonization, intellectual property and outer space.

2) Some Major Unresolved Problems

Unresolved problems of great magnitude persist, including:

- the wide disparity in economic and social development between various groups of nations (with a substantial portion of the world's population not reaching even minimally acceptable standards of living);
- the high and increasing levels of expenditure for weapons production and deployment, with the ever-present danger of nuclear annihilation;
- relatively little headway in such critical issues as energy and monopolies, cartels and anti-trust.

3) Escalating Positive Trends

The most dramatic transitions in policy development took place during the second half of the thirty-three year period and especially during the last quarter of the period. This suggests a favorable trend, with reasonable prospects for even more rapid evolution in the years ahead.

4) Increasing Implementation at Global Level

There is substantial reliance on national level implementation of globally formulated policy. However, global level implementation (and evaluation) capabilities increased to a considerable degree during the thirty-three year period, especially during its second half, and even more so during its final quarter.

5) United Nations as Central Forum

Virtually without exception, the primary forums for global level policy formulation have been within the United Nations system. In regard to a substantial number of issue areas, the U.N. General Assembly itself has been the key forum. ECOSOC has also had a leading role as to a number of issue-areas. The Security Council has been an important forum with regard to some of the matters relating to maintenance of peace and security within its competence. However, as to disarmament and arms control, the Council has not been as active or effective as the General Assembly. Specialized agencies of the U.N. system have generally been key policy forums as to those issue-areas falling primarily within their scope of responsibility and competence. While a wide range of actors has been involved in the global level policy process (nation-states, global and regional intergovernmental organizations, transnational corporations, narrow interest and public interest pressure groups, non-governmental organizations, individuals, etc.) interactions among actors have tended to take place within forums legitimized by their relationship to the United Nations, the organization with overall responsibility for fostering and furthering global cooperation.

6) Growing Competence of General Assembly

The period in question has witnessed substantial enhancement of General Assembly competence. Some observers have taken the position, especially from 1960 onward, that many nations have entered U.N. membership without resource and population bases sufficient to warrant equality of vote with more populous and economically powerful nations and that as a result, the General Assembly has been eroded in its *bona fides*. Yet, as matters have developed, this body has become more and more central to the policy process. In part this has been due to its being the one deliberative body with an all-inclusive policy mandate. The Assembly has been further enhanced as the key forum for global level policy deliberations by its extensive committee structure, the research and drafting back-up for its activities provided by the U.N. Secretariat staff, its annual session of several months' duration (along with increasingly frequent special sessions devoted to particular questions), and by the high quality of physical facilities as well as translation and documentation services available to it. Perhaps most important, the General Assembly constitutes the one forum in which virtually all nations can be represented on a permanent basis.

7) Developing Nations and Dependency

Increasingly, developing nations are making their own needs known with regard to global level policy development. Dependency is still a negative factor, but one that is gradually becoming less salient, especially as developing nations are becoming more unified and more effective in their efforts to deal with this phenomenon.

8) Toward Consensus Decision-Making

Contrary to fears expressed in some circles as to "bloc voting" by developing nations as a means of dominating U.N. system bodies, efforts to obtain consensus in the shaping of policy and with regard to its implementation have often prevailed. Developing nations have shown an awareness that without developed nation support for implementation, policy statements would remain at the "symbolic" or declarative stage. Where there have been exceptions to this approach, they have often occurred with regard to resolutions intended to foster a sense of developing nation solidarity and self-reliance or intended to further the development of public opinion on the problem in question.

9) Growing Commitment Toward Achievement of Goals

Policy as preachment, propaganda or placebo has figured as a staple at the global level throughout the period under consideration. However, during the latter part of the period there has been a heightened commitment to the achievement of policy in action. In this regard, the increasing use of evaluation techniques has been a factor, with enhanced feedback making those involved in the policy process (including segments of the public) better aware of the gap between declarations as to policy goals and progress toward achieving the goals.

10) Institutional Capability

There has been a general expansion of institutional capability regarding policy formulation, implementation and evaluation at the global level. This was most dramatically evidenced with creation of the United Nations as the first international policy forum which had some reasonable claim to universality and through the UN's transformation toward more *bona fide* universality as European powers were severed from their colonies and large populations and geographical areas, especially in Asia and Africa, came under the control of independent nation-states.

To an extent the expansion of institutional capability has taken the form of creating new U.N. system specialized agencies to deal with particular problem areas. To an extent, it has also taken the form of improvements in policy planning, coordination, budgeting and administrative techniques within existing institutions. Notable too has been the use of world policy conferences in the 1970s for dealing with such issues as Environment (Stockholm 1972), Population (Bucharest 1974), Food (Rome 1974), Status of Women (Mexico City 1975), New International Economic Order (Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, New York City 1974 and 1975) and Shelter and Urbanization (Habitat - Vancouver 1976).

Institutional (process) development has generally accompanied substantive policy development within a given issue-area. This is the case especially as the stage of "policy as preachment" or mere declaration is left behind and the stage of actual implementation is entered. Even where implementation is undertaken primarily at the national (or regional) level, institutional development at the global level is often required for purposes of policy refinement and re-formulation, for maintaining contact with national and regional actors in reference to particular policy areas (including the provision in appropriate instances of technical assistance and policy formulation guidance), for evaluating progress at national and regional levels in meeting global guidelines, and for analyzing evaluation reports prepared at these levels.

11) Interrelationships Better Understood

Interrelationships between different issue-areas have become better understood as the period under consideration has progressed. This trend was perhaps most dramatically highlighted at the World Population Conference (Bucharest, 1974) with acceptance of the linkage between advances in socio-economic development and downward trends in birth rates.

12) Trend Toward More Issue Areas

Notwithstanding increased understanding of linkages among issue-areas, the trend has been toward breakdown of broad issue-areas into more narrowly defined units, rather than toward amalgamation into larger composite units. Given this trend, it can be anticipated that the number of separate issue-areas at the global level will increase substantially in the years ahead, perhaps doubling or even tripling over the next third of a century.

13) Financing the Policy Process

Necessarily, for effectiveness in formulating, implementing and evaluating policy at any level, whether national, regional or global, there must be adequate financial support. At the national level, support is provided by levies in one form or another on resources subject to "authoritative" control by governments. At regional and global levels, financing is normally obtained through allocations from member governments according to established formulas and from voluntary contributions from governments or other sources with reference to particular programs. Needless to say, the national level policy process is more likely to receive adequate fiscal support since decisions as to financial needs and as to means for meeting the needs are made at the same level. Regional and global policy processes are usually dependent upon a flow upward of support. Seldom is there capability for generating any substantial portion of required funds from assets controlled at the regional or global level.

Over the years, proposals have been made under which a more autonomous financing process, one less dependent upon upward flows, could be put into effect at the global level. In future years, such proposals may come to fruition, but it is obvious this will not be an easy achievement, in part at least because national financial support is a key element of nation-state control over processes at "higher" levels.

14) Availability of Technological Resources

Effectiveness or even feasibility of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation depends upon availability of the requisite technological knowledge and equipment, as well as of persons trained at appropriate skill levels. Often the development of technology which brings a new issue-area into existence or extends the dimensions of an existing issue-area also makes available the necessary technological and human resources for policy process utilization. Examples with regard to exploration and other operations in outer space come to mind in this connection. However, technological resources are much more likely, under the present structure of world reality, to be available at the national level than at regional or global levels, and even at that level they are often closely guarded for "security" or commercial reasons by a few nations.

15) Incompleteness of Policy System

Undoubtedly in some instances those entrusted with policy responsibilities at the national level are unwilling to invest any substantial resources (whether time, finance, personnel or opportunities passed up) to policy development at global or regional levels on the ground that the policy process is so incomplete or inadequate at these levels that there is no assurance of adequate return on the investment, at least in the relatively short term. Further, political considerations, as for instance elections in systems in which these are a significant factor in transitions of leadership, may discourage attempts at utilizing a policy level at which results cannot reasonably be assured.

The disarmament issue-area is surely one in which the problem of incompleteness of policy system has had substantial impact on willingness to entrust responsibility. On the other hand, in this area as well as in others, there is a considerable tendency to perpetuate national level control more out of a desire to preserve and enhance national power (for whatever purposes) than because of inadequacy of process development at "higher" levels.

16) Imperatives for Improving the Policy Process

A commitment to effective public policy as an output of governmental and intergovernmental systems necessitates a commitment to improvement of all stages of the policy process - whether formulation, implementation or evaluation.

Ideally, those entrusted with policy responsibilities at the national level, when faced with situations of inadequate process at regional or global levels, will make reasonable investments toward improvement at these levels, and will attempt at least limited transfers of policy responsibility to them. At the same time, they will of necessity continue to deal with the problem area at the national level (unilaterally or in concert with other nations) until such time as a more complete transfer can be made to other levels.

In the fullest sense, however, responsibility for development of the policy process at any given level can appropriately be regarded as the shared burden of actors at all levels. Concerns expressed at national, regional, interregional and global levels for improving policy formulation, implementation and evaluation in the area of economic and social advancement for developing countries resulted in the broad reorientation of the United Nations system called for by General Assembly Resolution 32/197, adopted December 1977.

Acceptance of global level responsibility for enhancing public administration at the national level has likewise been clearcut and longstanding. The United Nations has, from 1948 onward, but increasingly in recent years, provided assistance in this regard, especially to developing nations. Less clearcut is global level commitment to assisting regional organizations in improving their administrative capabilities. However, the increasing support from the U.N. system for regional, sub-regional and interregional cooperation among developing nations evidenced in recent years, suggests that efforts are now being expended along these lines.

In some instances, rather than attempting to improve policy processes within existing structures, it will be deemed necessary or desirable to create new institutional frameworks. This is likely to be the case especially with regard to newly emerging issue-areas and with regard to issue-areas in which a sense of failure as to existing approaches has become evident.

Meaningful commitment to improving policy processes, whether within existing structures or through creation of new institutional forms, is critical to success of the policy enterprise. As such, it constitutes a key factor in moving from policy as preachment to policy in action.

Conclusions

There are multiple conclusions and recommendations that can be made as a result of a study of the Manley survey. One is struck immediately by how far the human community has come and in how short a time it has moved forward in the evolution of global consciousness and structures despite significant differences of ideology and social, political and economic systems. This overall basis for hope is reinforced in the survey by a sense of practical and concrete direction in the hard tasks still ahead in achieving a more just and peaceful human order.

The urgency of the disarmament issue stands out, not only because it was singled out in the survey for lack of substantial progress, but because the arms race has increased both quantitatively and qualitatively over the period of the survey and will further threaten human survival and well being unless a change in trends occurs soon. Serious questions about what comprises true national and world security and the social, political and legal structuring essential to their achievement obviously need much more attention not only on the part of national and world leaders, but on the media and the world population at large.

Progress in some other areas has also not measured up to the imperatives for survival and well being, as a study of the survey will indicate. And there is virtually no area included in the survey where further progress is not needed.

But what stands out most in the survey is not what the human community has failed to do, but what is has, in fact, begun to accomplish. It is the emerging donut and not the hole that calls for attention.

In a recent discussion with the editor of *The Whole Earth Papers,* Bob Manley summarized his conclusions about the survey and the prospects he saw for the future of humankind in the following statement:

"One often hears, especially in United Nations settings, that the main impediment to resolving even the most pressing problems facing humankind is the lack of political will. While this may sound somewhat simplistic or naive, it conveys a considerable measure of truth.

"Knowledge about the world's resources, peoples and environments has expanded over the past few decades to the point where it has become apparent that ample nutrition, clothing and shelter, opportunities for educational, cultural and spiritual advancement and freedom from threats of massive violence are within the current limits of human capability. What stands in the way is not the absence of technological or material wherewithall, but rather a lack of willingness on the part of many leaders and many followers to make the commitments and sacrifices required for this prospect to become a reality.

"Those whose vision is clouded by pessimism as they ponder what has happened during the present century (including that third of it surveyed in terms of global-level policy in this study) have justification in the sense that the period has indeed involved many tragic elements. However, what is necessary now is to accept the fact that much has been accomplished in the struggle for a more rational and humane world system and that the past - far from providing an appropriate basis for fatalism and resignation to defeat - can be and must be utilized in its positive dimensions for a committed thrust toward expanding and, insofar as possible, completing the development of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation capacities demanded by the immensity and intensity of problems faced.

"In giving this thrust reality and continuity, nothing is more important than expanding and deepening global consciousness among the widest possible portion of humanity. Too many problems facing humankind are global in scope - whether one thinks of arms control and disarmament, inflation, environmental despoilation or abject poverty for hundreds of millions of people - for anything short of global perspectives and global commitments to be adequate.

"The infrastructure for fostering and furthering global consciousness, and thus for fostering and furthering a more complete and more adequate world policy system, is substantially in place. It exists tangibly in the many specific and detailed policy declarations and in the many policy formulating, implementing and evaluating institutions which have, through the struggles of the past, been established.

"Admittedly, in some areas, none more notably than that of arms control and disarmament, the dimensions of policy and institutional development fall far short of adequacy. Global consciousness and global policy development in this regard is woefully incomplete. Too many people, whose vision of past and future for the majority of policy areas is perceptive and sensitive, remain snarled in geographic-ideological-cultural entanglements whether East-West, North-South or other. Or they remain trapped in the demeaning theory of military power as somehow a self-evident good (or self-evident necessary evil) or committed to its use in achieving goals which cannot be regarded (from the viewpoint of justice) as valid in any event.

"Yet the consensus that has emerged as to the nature of the causes - and indeed the nature of the solutions - for the vast majority of global problems provides a credible basis for concluding that even in those areas in which progress has been most shockingly inadequate, breakthroughs can be achieved, facilitating evolution of the world policy system into substantial completeness and adequacy. What is required to accomplish this is enough commitment by enough people in enough of the world's cultures, plus the "luck" to avert during the transition the catastrophy which would result from use of weapons of mass destruction. If these conditions are met, it is reasonable to expect that humankind will make significant further progress toward fulfillment of its aspirations for a secure and decent future."

What stands out most in the survey is not what the human community has failed to do, but what is has, in fact, begun to accomplish. It is the emerging donut and not the hole that calls for attention.

FORTY-EIGHT GLOBAL

A SURVEY OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

1945-1977

BY ROBERT H. MANLEY

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This study represents a revised version of "The World Policy System: an Analytical and Substantive Overview", published in International and Comparative Public Policy, *Volume 2 (1978). This journal is published annually by International Public Policy Institute, Graybar Bldg., Suite 354, 420 Lexington Ave., New York City, N.Y. 10017.*

In order to provide a tangible overview of public policy at the global level, this survey summarizes developments with regard to some 48 issue-areas. The period covered is the third of a century between 1945 (marking the end of World War II and the virtually concurrent establishment of the United Nations) and 1977, the close of the last calendar year prior to the study's completion. As indicated in the chart which follows, the 48 issue-areas are organized under six categories, namely: *Common Usage; Economic; Environment/Weather; Information/Knowledge; Political;* and *Social.* The sequence is alphabetical for both overall categories and the issue-areas. An Index to help locate sub topics is included following the survey.

No assertion is made that the use of a shorter or longer list of issue areas or of different titles for either issue-areas or categories would not have been equally or more satisfactory. It is believed, however, that the areas dealt with do cover most of the substantive ground over which policy has developed during the 33 year period. In giving titles to the issue-areas the approach has been to use terminology that is descriptive of the problems dealt with, as perceived by those active in the policy process at the global level. At the same time, insofar as possible, terms are used which correspond to usages at regional and national levels. Each presentation deals with the following five categories of analysis:

a) *Forums:*
   Organizational or other settings in which policy formulation, implementation and evaluation take place at the global level.

b) *Policy Development:*
   Development of substantive policy at the global level.

c) *Process Development:*
   Development of the policy process at the global level.

d) *Interfaces:*
   Relationships between global, regional and national levels with regard to policy substance and policy process.

e) *Appraisal:*
   Appraisal of the evolution of policy process and policy substance in terms of congruence with imperatives for human survival and development.

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KEY FOR ABBREVIATIONS

CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (also known as COMECON)
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (also known as World Bank)
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMCO	Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UPU	Universal Postal Union
WHO	World Health Organization
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WMO	World Meteorological Organization

COMMON USE AREAS

During the period in question there has been a considerable expansion of areas that could be regarded as effectively subject to common usage. Technology made space and the seabed accessible for human use. Technological developments also made Antarctica use much more feasible than was the case previously, providing impetus for arriving at a common-use approach to that domain. Thus, to the oceans' surface were added large expanses on planet earth and beyond it as the subject of common use policies.

Antarctica

Forums

Multilateral meetings of nations with special interest in the area. Various specialized agencies, including IAEA, ICAO, ITU, UNESCO and WMO are potential forums, as are the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council.

Policy Development

The International Geophysical Year (1957) having spurred international cooperation in scientific exploration and development, and overlapping claims by a number of nations having developed with regard to the area, an agreement was entered into in December 1959 (coming into force June 1961) known as the Antarctic Treaty. Original parties were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, United Kingdom, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Accessions were later filed for Poland (1961), Czechoslovakia (1962), Denmark (1965), Netherlands (1967), Romania (1971), German Democratic Republic (1974) and Brazil (1975).

The agreement provides that "Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only." Under it "Freedom of scientific investigation in Antarctica and cooperation toward that end, as applied during the International Geophysical Year, shall continue." (Arts. I and II). The agreement makes clear that parties to it do not renounce any claims they may have to the area, but on the other hand, no activities while the treaty is in force shall constitute a basis for buttressing such claims and no new claims, or enlargement of existing claims, shall be asserted during this period. (Art. IV (2)). Nuclear explosions and the disposal of radioactive waste material in the area are prohibited. (Art. V).

In an attempt to give the agreement universal application, a provision declares that "Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes to exert appropriate efforts, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, to the end that no one engages in any activity in Antarctica contrary to the principles or purposes of the present Treaty." (Art. X).

The Treaty has a duration of at least 30 years from its effective date, barring unanimous agreement of the contracting parties to modify it. (Art. XII). Meetings of representatives of the contracting parties "at suitable intervals" are called for the purpose of "exchanging information, consulting together on matters of common interest pertaining to Antarctica, and formulating and considering, and recommending to their Governments, measures in furtherance of the principles and objectives of the Treaty . . . " (Art. IX(1)).

Process Development

Included in foregoing material under Policy Development.

Interfaces

The Treaty calls for "every encouragement . . . to the establishment of cooperative working relationships with those Specialized Agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations having a scientific or technical interest in Antarctica." (Art. III (2)). This would presumably encompass possible cooperation with regional intergovernmental organizations.

Appraisal

While it might have been preferable to make decisions in this area through United Nations channels, thus assuring wider participation in the process and increasing prospects that the policy would be binding on all nation-states likely to be active in the geographical area covered, the Antarctica Treaty must be regarded as an important step in shaping common-use policy. Efforts should now be made to establish an organizational base within the U.N. system or through a special agency for this purpose affiliated with the U.N. system, to facilitate settlement of any disputes which arise, provide necessary implementation machinery and assure that periodic attention is given to modifications in Treaty language required for the Treaty to continue to serve its purpose under changing circumstances.

Oceans

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, ECOSOC, IMCO.

Policy Development

International policy in this area has shown considerable transformation during the period dealt with herein, but to a considerable degree it had taken shape long before the beginning of the period. One of the first elements of change can be dated from unilateral action of the United States, followed by other nations, after World War II, in laying claim to rights to exploit the "continental shelf" as it extended away from its shores. The continental shelf doctrine received sanction at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (1958), with incorporation in the Convention on the Continental Shelf. (The convention came into effect in June 1964).

Other conventions adopted at the 1958 Law of the Sea Conference were those on the High Seas (in force September 1962), the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone (in force September 1964) and on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas (in force March 1966). The continental shelf doctrine must be regarded as a substantial restriction on common usage of ocean space. Further substantial restrictions have come during the period under consideration, in terms of unilateral declarations of nations claiming fishing and other rights for broad expanses of ocean off their coast, often to a total of 200 miles. (It had been impossible at the 1958 Geneva Conference or in a second Conference in 1960 to reach agreement on width of the territorial sea off nations' coasts.)

A further evolution of ocean policy during the period, however, has been in the direction of common usage namely that pertaining to the seabed and ocean floor. In 1970, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a "Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction". (Res. 2749 (XXV), 17 December 1970.)

The Declaration provides that "The sea-bed and ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction (hereinafter referred to as the area) as well as the resources of the area, are the common heritage of mankind." (Para. 1). "The area shall not be subject to appropriation by any means by States or persons natural or juridicial, and no State shall claim or exercise sovereignty or sovereign rights over any part thereof." (Para. 2). "All activities regarding the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the area and other related activities shall be governed by the international regime to be established." (Para. 4). "The area shall be open to use exclusively for peaceful purposes by all States, whether coastal or land-locked, without discrimination, in accordance with the international regime to be established." (Para. 5). "The exploration of the area and the exploitation of its resources shall be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, irrespective of the geographical location of States, whether land-locked or coastal, and taking into particular consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries." (Para. 7)

At the same General Assembly meeting a further resolution was adopted convening in 1973 a conference on the law of the sea to deal "with the establishment of an equitable international regime—including an international machinery—for the area and the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the definition of the area, and a broad range of related issues..." (Res. 2750 (XXV), B, 17 December 1970, para. 2.)

Process Development

The Internatonal Law Commission, the Statute of which was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in November 1947, held its first session in 1949. From its inception, the Commission gave attention to drafting provisions relating to the law of the sea. Drafts prepared by it provided an essential basis for work at the 1958 Geneva Law of the Sea Conference. To an extent the drafts represented codification of existing rules, to an extent they introduced developmental elements. Another important aspect of process evolution came with the General Assembly's decision to convene the 1958 Geneva Conference. (Res. 1105 (XI), 21 February 1957).

In 1967 the General Assembly, having adopted a resolution stressing the importance of preserving the seabed and ocean floor from actions and uses which might be detrimental to the common interests of mankind, established an *Ad Hoc* Committee to study the matter. In 1968 the Assembly created a standing committee in this area known as the C ommittee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jyrisdiction. This committee was dissolved as of the inauguration of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1973 by General Assembly resolution adopted that year. The Third Law of the Sea Conference has held a series of meetings in Caracas, Geneva and New York since convening, and as of the end of the period under consideration was still grappling with the many problems involved, seeking to arrive at language for a new treaty.

Interfaces

There has been considerable regional level involvement in shaping policy in this area, especially during the later years of the period under consideration. In this connection, efforts in Latin America to shape policy regarding offshore fishing and other economic rights, African efforts with regard to protection of interests of landlocked countries and Mediterranean basin country involvement in developing anti-pollution policy are worthy of note. However, the paramountcy of national level policy formulation may be noted in the essentially unilateral moves of various countries which shaped continental shelf doctrine as well as offshore fishing and other economic rights principles.

Appraisal

While the evolution of global level policy in this area during the period under consideration has its positive elements, it must be said that to much too great an extent, policy was shaped initially by unilateral actions of nations claiming rights in areas which could very well have been regarded as subject to common use theory. The inability of the global level process to develop rapidly enough to formulate appropriate policy and to provide machinery for its implementation led to a substantial loss of community control and therefore of progress toward more equitable sharing, sharing which would take into account the special needs of developing (including landlocked developing) nations. Whether and to what extent this loss will be ratified or rectified in the outcome of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea remains to be seen. Whatever the outcome of that conference, however, the oceans issue-area will remain one requiring unrelenting struggle for policy outcomes congruent with the needs of all humankind.

Outer Space

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ITU, WMO

Policy Development

It was established in the Paris Convention of Air Navigation (1919) and essentially reaffirmed in the Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago, 1944) that nations have sovereignty with regard to the airspace over their territory. However, with the advent of space satellites, inaugurated with the Soviet Union's launching of Sputnik I and II in October and November 1957 and the United States' launching of Explorer I in January 1958, a new situation, requiring the evolution of new policy, had presented itself. The United Nations General Assembly considered the area in its 1958 session, adopting a resolution expressing the "common interest of mankind in outer space", urging "international co-operation in the study and utilization of outer space", and calling for "fullest exploration and exploitation of outer space for the benefit of mankind." (Res. 1348 (XIII), 13 December 1958). In 1961, the Assembly asserted that "outer space and celestial bodies are free for use by all ... and not subject to national appropriation." (Res. 1721 (XVI), 20 December 1961).

A major step in policy formulation came with adoption in 1963 by the General Assembly of the Declaration of Legal Principles Governing Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space. (Res. 1962 (XVIII), 13 December 1963). Notable too is the signing that year of the (Moscow) Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. In 1966 the General Assembly by unanimous vote adopted a resolution approving the terms of a Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. (Res. 2222 (XXI), 19 December 1966).

The treaty, which had been drafted within U.N. channels and which both incorporated principles enunciated in the 1963 Declaration of Legal Principles and introduced new elements, was opened for signature in January 1967 and came into effect in October 1967. It provides that "The exploration and use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries, irrespective of their degree of economic or scientific development, and shall be the province of all mankind." (Art. 1, para. 1). "Outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, shall be free for exploration and use by all States without discrimination of any kind, on a basis of equality and in accordance with international law, and there shall be free access to all areas of celestial bodies." (Art. 1, para. 2). "Outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means." (Art. 2)

"States Parties to the Treaty undertake not to place in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies, or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner." (Art. 4, para. 1). "The Moon and other celestial bodies shall be used by all States Parties to the Treaty exclusively for peaceful purposes. The establishment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military manoeuvres on celestial bodies shall be forbidden." (Art. 4, Para. 2). "A State Party to the Treaty on whose registry an object launched into outer space is carried shall retain jurisdiction and control over such object, and over any personnel thereof, while in outer space or on a celestial body." (Art. 8)

Other portions of the treaty provide that the states launching or procurring the launching of objects into outer space, as well as those from whose territory or facilities they are launched are liable for damages to another treaty party or to its natural or juridical persons and stress the responsibility of states to avoid contamination of the moon and other celestial bodies or "adverse changes" in the earth's environment resulting from introduction of extraterritorial material. (Arts. 7 and 9). Other agreements relevant to this area include the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space (entered into force 1968), the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects (entered into force 1972), and the Convention on Registration of Space Objects (entered into force 1976).

It is also worth noting that the Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 (Res. 2542 (XXIV), 11 December 1969) asserts as one of its principles that "Social progress and economic growth require recognition of the common interest of all nations in the exploration, conservation, use and exploitation, exclusively for peaceful purposes and in the interests of all mankind, of those areas of the environment such as outer space and the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations." (Art. 9, para. 2).

Process Development

The General Assembly created an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in 1958. In 1959 a permanent body, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was created by the Assembly. This committee (expanded from its original 24 members to 37 in 1973 and to 47 in 1977) has had a key role since that time in shaping of policy in this area. It has established Legal and Scientific and Technical sub-committees as well as working groups of the whole on Navigation satellites, broadcasting satellites and the use of satellites for remote sensing of earth resources. An Outer Space Affairs Division created within the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs is a focal point for activities as to this issue-area within the U.N. Secretariat.

Interfaces

Unilateral activity by nations (primarily the Soviet Union and the United States) established the technological and other bases for policy development in this area. However, it is one in which global decision-making is singularly appropriate, given the physical enclosure of planet earth in outer space. Regional policy has evolved in terms of the establishment of cooperative arrangements for research and development, especially in Eastern and Western Europe.

Appraisal

While policy in this area has developed rapidly in the period since the first earth-orbiting satellites were launched, there are many gaps which must be filled. No definition has so far been agreed upon as to the point at which the airspace within national jurisdiction ends and outer space begins. Furthermore, there is no established institutional machinery and no clearcut policy as to exploitation of the resources on the moon and other celestial bodies. Also, the Treaty on Principles Governing Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space (1967) does not deal with military uses of space except in terms of proscribing use of earth-orbiting weapons of mass destruction and in terms of declaring that the moon and other celestial bodies shall be used for peaceful purposes only. Clearly, much work must be done to bring policy in this issue-area into line with global imperatives in what should increasingly be a domain of truly common heritage and common use.

ECONOMIC

A number of the issue-areas dealt with under this category are important not only in their own right but because they are elements of development of the "infrastructure" of the policy process. That is, they contribute to enhancing capacity for dealing with needs which are at the core of issue-areas in the social and other categories.

Agricultural Development

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, World Food Council, FAO

Policy Development

While improving production and distribution of agricultural products has been a policy goal since establishment of the Food and Agriculture Organization in October 1945, impetus to agricultural development was given with the crisis faced by a number of developing nations in terms of food shortages in the early 1970s, culminating in the World Food Conference held in Rome in November 1974. Declarations adopted at that conference and approved by the General Assembly underscored the need for a rapid increase of food production in the developing nations themselves, although continued and increasing production in developed nations was also viewed as essential. The resolution adopted at the conclusion of the Seventh Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly emphasizes the centrality of agricultural development in developing nations with the statement "The solution to world food problems lies primarily in increasing rapidly food production in the developing nations." (General Assembly Res. 3362 (S-VII), 19 September 1975, Part V, para. 1).

Process Development

The most significant process development emerging from the World Food Conference (itself an innovation regarding the shaping of agricultural policy), was undoubtedly the establishment of the World Food Council as the key world level policy shaping and coordinating body.

Interfaces

Since agricultural development, especially in developing countries, is regarded as a key step toward solution of the food problem, implementation of policy in this issue-area is dependent largely on response at the national level. However, the global role, through the World Food Council, FAO, the newly created International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and other agencies, working where feasible through regional and sub-regional organizations, is critical in providing resources and stimulation as well as evaluation for purposes of correcting elements of policy.

Appraisal

It is much too early to say whether efforts stemming from the 1974 World Food Conference will be fruitful in terms of stimulating agricultural development in developing nations. However, the successful funding of IFAD was a favorable augury and there is evidence that policy not only as declaration but in action exists in this issue-area.

Capital Flows

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNDP, IBRD

Policy Development

In the earlier part of the period under consideration, much attention was focused, both in World Bank and other circles, on capital flows to war-torn industrialized nations. However, increasingly since 1959, needs of developing nations for capital, and especially from 1970 onward, for relief from debt burdens related to governmental and private loans, have become more central in terms of global level attention. In this connection reference is made to the strategies for the First and Second

United Nations Development Decades (the 1960s and the 1970s) adopted by the U.N. General Assembly and to the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. (General Assembly Res. 3202 (S-VI), 1 May 1974).

Process Development

Creation of the "soft-loan" affiliate of the World Bank, the International Development Association, in 1960 and of the United Nations Development Programme in 1965 (by combining the existing Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, itself set up in 1959) are worthy of special note.

Interfaces

To a considerable degree, involved in this issue-area is national level activity of developed countries, whether of governmental or private sectors, with regard to capital flows to private or governmental sectors of developing nations. Thus, implementation of policy takes place to a marked extent at the national level. However, global level institutions such as UNDP and the World Bank (the latter, flawed in terms of universality by non-membership of most communist nations) have a considerable role regarding implementation as do, increasingly, regional development banks. In dealing with the debt problem, national-level action is highly salient, and steps taken by Sweden and Canada are relevant in this regard.

Appraisal

Policy regarding capital flows at the global level exists in substantial degree at the declaration level, but flows have been insufficient to spur development in developing nations adequately. Furthermore, policy formulation in the direction of providing for more automatic transfer of a portion of developed nation gross national product should be fostered. Regarding debt servicing and repayment no adequate global policy yet exists. Efforts toward formulation in this area are clearly needed.

Economic Autonomy

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNCTAD

Policy Development

An increasingly potent issue-area, especially from approximately 1960 onward, after the bulk of developing nations had gained political independence. One of the key steps was adoption by the U.N. General Assembly of an eight-point declaration concerning the permanent sovereignty of peoples and nations over their wealth and resources. (General Assembly Res. 1803 (S-VII), 14 December 1962). However, the most important policy statement in this regard is doubtless the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (General Assembly Res. 3281 (XXIX), 12 December 1974). The rights declared in the Charter include that of each state to "choose its own economic system", to "freely exercise full permanent sovereignty, including possession, use and disposal, over all its wealth, natural resources and economic activities", to "regulate and exercise authority over foreign investment within its national jurisdiction", to "regulate and supervise the activities of transnational corporations within its national jurisdiction" and to "nationalize, expropriate or transfer ownership of foreign property" (with adequate compensation, as determined within the state exercising the right). (Arts. 1, 2 and 3).

Process Development

Establishment of UNCTAD by General Assembly resolution adopted in December 1964 has added considerably to policy formulation, implementation and evaluation capacity in this issue area, with special reference to needs of developing nations, those most likely to lack economic autonomy. Creation of the Centre on Transnational Corporations which became operational in 1975 constituted another important aspect of process developmnt.

Interfaces

In recent years, there has been considerable global level involvement in enhancing efforts of developing nations to achieve greater economic autonomy through interregional, regional and sub-regional cooperation. See in this regard "Report of the Secretary-General - Economic Co-operation Among Developing Countries", General Assembly Doc. A/32/312, 8 November 1977. Also, "Note by the Secretary-General - Reports of the Joint In spection Unit - Report on the technical co-operation provided by the United Nations system to the regional and subregional integration and co-operation movements: Asia and the Pacific, JIU/REP/76/9", ECOSOC Doc. E/5959, 22 April 1977.

Appraisal

Considering the extent to which economic autonomy was lacking for many developing nations at their independence and the general dearth of global level policy for dealing with this problem until after 1960, considerable progress has been made. However, unquestionably there is still great need for further policy development and even more for policy implementation.

Economic Growth and Stability

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNCTAD and a number of U.N. system specialized agencies

Policy Development

The U.N. Charter states that the organization is to promote "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development." (Art. 55). The Declaration of Social Progress and Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 provides that "The rapid expansion of national income and wealth and their equitable distribution among all members of society are fundamental to all social progress, and they should therefore be in the forefront of the preoccupations of every State and Government." (Art. 7). However, while the need for both economic growth and stability was no doubt recognized at the global level throughout the period under consideration, much more attention has been given to interrelationships between these goals and to the impact of economic growth and stability of developed coutries on developing countries and vice versa during the closing years of the period than before. Symptomatic of this focus is ECOSOC Doc. E/AC.54/L.92, 12 March 1977, paper titled "The Problem of Stagflation", which deals, as indicated by descriptive summary on its cover, with "policies for full employment and fuller resource utilization in developed countries, with particular reference to the effect on developing countries."

Process Development

Relevant in this context was the establishment and the strengthening of the U.N. regional economic commissions as well as increasing developing nations' participation in U.N. and U.N. specialized agency decision-making bodies.

Interfaces

In addition to global-regional-national linkages in this issue-area fostered by U.N. regional commissions, the role of regional and interregional intergovernmental organizations in which developing nations predominate (especially the NonAligned Group) is worthy of note.

Appraisal

An issue area warranting much more concentrated and consistent attention for the future than it has received during the period under consideration.

Energy

Forums

Primarily International Atomic Energy Agency. Also, U.N.

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General Assembly and ECOSOC

Policy Development

Energy is close to being an issue area in which cohesive policy at the global level is a figment of the imagination. However, it seems clear that there will be significant development in the future, since with the recognition during the 1970s of the finiteness of petroleum and some other energy-creating resources, and with the related oil price increases of that period, more and more attention is focused in this direction. In the meantime, aside from the atomic energy aspect, most global-level attention is on bringing together information regarding the dimensions of the problem and on "pre-policy" stages of problem analysis. With regard to atomic energy, policy has been developed and implemented, through the IAEA, to provide safeguards in the use of atoms for energy generation, both as to unintended (radiation and other) consequences and as to intentional diversions of materials to nuclear weapons production.

Process Development

Establishment of the IAEA, with headquarters in Vienna, in 1957 was a major step in this regard, as was provision for IAEA responsibility in safeguarding nuclear materials intended for peaceful uses in non-nuclear-weapon states under the NonProliferation Treaty, which came into effect in 1970.

Interfaces

At national, interregional and regional levels policy is generally more advanced than at the global level. A number of nations have relatively integrated energy policies. Both western and eastern European regional groupings have made substantial advances in the area. Regional and interregional groups of developing nations have, especially since OPEC price decisions of 1973, worked toward harmonization of policies. Likewise, developed capitalist nations have worked on an interregional basis to achieve coordination and some semblance of policy since the 1973 OPEC price and other decisions, including through creation of the International Energy Agency (1974).

Appraisal

In this increasingly critical area, the need for formulation of global policy is evident. National and regional policy development suffers to a considerable degree from the lack of overall global policy to provide general direction and coordination. The next steps at the global level should involve both creation of further aspects of policy and of further elements of an institutional framework specifically related to policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. In this connection, see "Proposal for the Establishment of an International Energy Institute" by Elisabeth Mann Borgese in *Energy Technology and Global Policy*, Stephen A. Saltzman, editor (Santa Barbara, Cal.: Clip Books, 1977).

Equity between Developed and Developing Nations

Forums:

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNCTAD

Policy Development

The U.N. Charter does not contain provisions dealing with the dichotomy between developed and developing nations, except indirectly and in the language of *noblesse oblige*, under Chapter XI, the "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories". However, over the years since the U.N.'s founding, there has been a significant shift of emphasis, most dramatically signaled with adoption at the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (General Assembly Res. 3201 and 3202 (S-VI), 1 May 1974). The international development strategies for the First (1960s) and Second (1970s) Development Decades adopted by the General Assembly represent previous recognition of the need to deal with basic differences in economic (and social) aspects of the status of developed and developing nations.

The Declaration adopted at the Sixth Session lays down broad policy guidelines when it defines a new international economic order as one based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations."

Process Development

Completion of a system of regional commissions servicing developing nations was accomplished with establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa (1958). ECA jointed the Economic Commission for Latin America (established 1948) and the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (established 1947 as Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East). Creation of UNCTAD in 1964 provided a secretariat primarily committed to meeting developing nation needs in policy formulation and implementation. The restructuring of economic and social sectors of the U.N. adopted by the General Assembly in December 1977 was a further significant process development step. Also relevant is expansion of the size of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 members by U.N. Charter amendment effective 1965, providing for broadened representation on that body for developing nations.

Interfaces

Much of the progress made in developing policy regarding developed-developing nation equity has resulted from regional and interregional level cohesion of those in the developing nation category, whether in the Group of 77, the Non-Aligned Group or various regional and sub-regional entities. The U.N. regional commissions serving developing areas, especially the Economic Commission for Latin America, provided essential support in developing this regional and interregional cohesion. The role of the Economic Commission for Africa in facilitating establishment of the Organization for African Unity should also be noted.

The responsibility of both developed and developing nations to develop and implement policy at the national level in line with that at the global level in this issue-area is recognized in the documents referred to under Policy Development above as well as in such other relevant documents as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (adopted by the General Assembly in December 1974) and in the resolution with respect to development and international cooperation adopted at the conclusion of the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly (1975).

Appraisal

While much progress has been made with regard to policy in this area, especially from 1960 onward, the continuing disparity of economic and social development between developed and developing nations, coupled with the impoverished condition in which a large proportion of the population in the least developed nations exists, is sufficient testimony to the need for more effective implementation and doubtless for further work in policy formulation. Significant progress is being made in both commitment to evaluation and in evaluation technique with regard to this area, as evidenced, for instance by "Preliminary Report of the Secretary-General -- Assessment of Progress Made in the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, and Development and International Economic Co-operation", ECOSOC Doc. E/C.9/L.13, A/AC.54/L.93, 28 March 1977, a 125-page document containing 55 pages of tables.

Industrialization

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNIDO

Policy Development

Global level policy development in this area received a major impetus with adoption of General Assembly Res. 2152 (XXI), 17 November 1966, establishing UNIDO. UNIDO's purpose was stated in the resolution to be "to promote industrial development ... by encouraging the mobilization of national and international resources to assist in, promote and accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries, with particular emphasis on the manufacturing sector." (Sect. II, Para. 1).

Functions of UNIDO, as stated in the resolution, include "encouragement and promotion of and making of recommendations for national, regional and international action to achieve more rapid industrialization of developing countries." (Sect. II, Para. 2 (a) (i)). A further major step in policy development came with the adoption of the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Cooperation, adopted at UNIDO's Second General Conference held in March 1975. The conference's decisions, endorsed by the U.N. General Assembly (Res. 3362 (S-VII), 16 September 1975) called for a restructuring of global industry to enable developing countries to increase their world share from 7 to 25 per cent by the year 2000.

Process Development

One step in this regard was establishment by ECOSOC in 1960 of the Committee for Industrial Development, which met in March 1961 for the first time. Shortly thereafter, a Centre for Industrial Development was established within the U.N. Secretariat. Work by the Committee and the Centre led to establishment of UNIDO as an autonomous organization within the United Nations. Headquartered in Vienna, UNIDO began operations January 1, 1967. The Lima conference of UNIDO called for its tranformation to specialized agency status. By General Assembly Res. 32/167 (19 December 1977) a Conference on the Establishment of a Specialized Agency was scheduled for early 1978.

Interfaces

National level involvement in policy implementation in this area includes primary responsibility of developing nations for evolving and putting into effect industrialization plans and developed nation responsibility to assist through technical cooperation, investment, grants, loans and other approaches. The role of regional and sub-regional bodies, especially those fostering developing nation economic integration, is likewise apparent. Relevant approaches include common regional tariffs, cooperative policies on allocation of key industries among nations, development of, sharing of and cooperation in financing industrialization efforts. At the interregional level, there appears to be increasing developing nation concern and cooperation.

Appraisal

Given the status of developing nation industrialization noted in the 1975 Lima Declaration (7 per cent of world output), implementation of policy in this area so as to achieve a more proportionate share presents a substantial challenge to developed and developing nations alike. It is evident, however, that with the creation of UNIDO and with related policy developments, meaningful steps in this direction are being taken. UNIDO's transformation into a specialized agency within the UN system, presumably with heightened budgetary and other aspects of institutional capacity, should provide further impetus to policy formulation and implementation, as well as to ongoing evaluation.

Monetary

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, IMF (in conjunction with IBRD)

Policy Development

Throughout the period under consideration, the basic policy goal has been to facilitate stable international economic relationships through dealing with balance of payment and convertibility problems. In recent years, problems faced by developing nations in this regard have been given increased attention, as evidenced, for instance, by the section on "International Monetary System and Financing of the Development of Developing Countries" in the "Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" (General Assembly Res. 3202 (S-VI), 1 May 1974).

With the creation of Special Drawing Rights, an international foreign exchange device was established, supplementing the role of "lead" currencies. The first SDR allocation was made in January 1970. During the 1970s a series of changes in approaches to exchange rate adjustments and other monetary management elements took place, some prior to, some following the major rises in petroleum prices initiated in 1973. Unilateral national decisions with regard to gold convertibility and exchange rates essentially in violation of IMF rules led eventually to substantial changes in IMF approaches, with latitude permitted nations (and thus regional groupings in which they may be members) regarding floating in contrast to fixed exchange rates.

Process Development

The central global level forum in this area, the International Monetary Fund, began functioning in early 1946. Throughout its existence, it has been dominated, through a system of weighted voting based upon monetary support "quotas" under which the United States and the United Kingdom have had paramount positions. In recent years there has been some dilution of this paramouncy. The IMF and the IBRD (World Bank) with which it is linked (membership in both is required), lack universality in the sense that most communist nations are not members.

Interfaces

It is the essence of global policy, as developed under the IMF, that national policy of countries becoming parties to the Fund's Articles of Agreement conform to its regulations in the prescribed monetary and related areas. Regional approaches to monetary cooperation are similarly impacted upon by their nation-state membership's IMF obligations.

Appraisal

Increasingly, it can be anticipated that there will be pressures for universality of international monetary policy as economic interdependence increases. A restructuring of IMF organizationally and in terms of policy substance will doubtless be required for this to take place. Pressures are already strong within the existing membership for more changes than those that have already occurred. Clearly current policies, in substance and process, have provided a certain amount of needed stability in monetary relationships. But just as clearly, they must be substantially modified to meet the needs of communist nations not now formally involved and those of the developing nations most of whom are already members, but members committed to reform.

Monopolies, Cartels, Anti-Trust

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNCTAD

Policy Development

Thus far little global level policy has been formulated that deals directly with concentrations of economic power. In regard to trade, UNCTAD has been involved both in attempting to develop policy which would curb practices adverse to developing country progress and at the same time, to foster development of agreements affecting commodities (tin, cocoa, sugar, etc.) to stabilize prices and markets. UNCTAD, ECOSOC and General Assembly involvement with development of regulatory schemes for transnational business enterprises are also relevant, but have not progressed to the point of establishing what can properly be called monopoly or anti-trust policy.

Process Development

The establishment of UNCTAD in 1964 and of the Centre on Transnational Corporations in 1975 are relevant.

Interfaces

Most policy in the direction of curbing development of monopolies and cartels remains at the national level. Regional policy has also evolved in Western Europe, and to an extent within developing nation arrangements (as for instance Andean Pact attempts to regulate control of technology transfer by corporations establishing enterprises in nations of the region).

Appraisal

At the moment, an area of impasse, with many developing nations committed to commodity arrangements as a means of bargaining leverage in dealings with industrialized nations, and thus this presents what might otherwise be a commitment to curbing monopolies and cartels. Clearly a growth area for the future, but not until the initial stages of negotiations on a New International Economic Order have been completed.

Natural Resources

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNCTAD

Policy Development

The U.N. Charter itself does not deal with natural resource policy. However, with the growth in number of nations emerging into independence from colonial status, policy as regards natural resources control came to the fore. In 1962 a declaration adopted by the General Assembly asserted the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. This position has been reasserted in such further General Assembly pronouncements as the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (General Assembly Res. 3201 (S-VI), 1 May 1974) -- see in particular sect. 4 (e)) and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (General Assembly Res. 3281 (XXIX), 12 December 1974), Art. 2).

Process Development

An important step in process development was taken in 1958 with establishment by the General Assembly of a Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources. In 1970 ECOSOC established a standing Committee on Natural Resources to assist in policy formulation and implementation.

Interfaces

Efforts to assure developing nations of sovereignty over natural resources and development of these resources in the interest of their peoples have been spurred in such interregional gatherings as the Group of Non-Aligned Countries and Group of 77 as well as through national policy development and implementation. Global level efforts along these lines, including those related to stabilization of prices and markets, have involved UNCTAD as well as ECOSOC and the U.N. General Assembly. The United Nations Development Programme has had operational responsibility for assistance in the location of such resources and in surveys regarding their exploitation.

Appraisal

While global policy has evolved appropriately in terms of seeking to assure that developing nations do not, following political independence, lose their natural resource bounty through manipulation by developed nations, it is essential that future policy also seek to assure that resources in all nations, developing and developed, are available on equitable terms to meet human needs. At a later stage of the evolution of the New International Economic Order, once developing nations are more secure in their control of natural resources, steps toward a more general policy should be taken.

Trade

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, GATT, UNCTAD

Policy Development

The United Nations Charter does not contain provisions expressly relating to trade policy. However, a "General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade", originally intended as a temporary measure, was signed in October 1947, coming into effect January 1, 1948.

As a result of activities within the GATT framework, progress has been made through the years in reducing barriers to trade. The key feature of the GATT approach is the "most favored nation" element, under which advantages granted by one member to another are to be available to all members.

However, the GATT approach was found lacking from a developing nation viewpoint in that outcomes of its negotiations were shaped substantially by and in the interest of developed nations. This led to addition in 1965 of a protocol to the GATT agreement providing for measures to further importation by developed nations on favorable terms of developing nation products. Facilitation of developing nation trade on favorable terms was also the primary policy goal of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, established by General Assembly resolution adopted in late 1964.

More recently, in General Assembly resolutions seeking establishment of a New International Economic Order, further transformation of trade policy in the interest of developing nations has been sought, especially in relating prices of raw materials and other products exported by them to prices of their imports from industrialized countries. In this regard, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order provides that among the principles on which the NIEO is to rest is a "Just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary products, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by developing countries and the prices of raw materials, primary commodities, manufactures, capital goods and equipment imported by them with the aim of bringing about sustained improvement in their unsatisfactory terms of trade and the expansion of the world economy." (General Assembly Res. 3201 (S-VI), 1 May 1974, para. 4 (j)).

Process Development

ECOSOC, in its first session in 1946, decided to call a conference on trade and employment. Following a series of meetings, a charter for an International Trade Organization was adopted in Havana in 1948. However, it failed to gain ratification and never came into force. Therefore, GATT, along with UNCTAD (and with the continuing involvement of ECOSOC and the U.N. General Assembly) have become the main entities involved with global level policy in this area. Cooperation between GATT and UNCTAD has included joint operation since 1968 of an International Trade Center in

Geneva, the headquarters of both entities, to foster trade opportunities for developing nations. (The Center was originally founded by GATT in 1964.) While GATT is of special importance in terms of actual tariff negotiations (a "round" of such negotiations takes place every few years), it lacks universality in that few communist nations participate. UNCTAD, on the other hand, as a United Nations body, provides a forum with more complete representation.

Interfaces

National policy in regard to international trade necessarily looks "outward" and thus, for the nations parties to GATT, requires synchronization with policy evolution arrived at in that setting. Regional trade policy likewise must, with regard to those regions comprised of GATT members, take into account obligations established through it. However, regional groupings are given latitude in this regard through provisions permitting exceptions in favor of customs unions and free trade areas. Preferential arrangements between developing nations and regional organizations of developed nations are also permitted.

Appraisal

Both in terms of policy and process, there have been notable advances, including with regard to the special needs of developing nations over the period in question. However, much further ground must be covered. Universalization of GATT through involvement of communist countries, or its merger with UNCTAD, already with such membership, and development of guidelines for negotiations which would better assure developing nations of trading terms conducive to their need for rapid economic progress are two aspects to which intensified efforts should be addressed.

Transnational Business Enterprises

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNCTAD

Policy Development

At the global level, development of policy in this area has taken place largely during the 1970s. The potential for adverse impacts of transnational business enterprise operations on host country economic, social and political progress had been evident for some time, but a consensus on the nature of the problem and on tentative steps in dealing with it evolved more or less simultaneously with outlines of a New International Economic Order.

As a step in policy development, recognition by ECOSOC of the need for a detailed study regarding what were then generally referred to as multinational corporations (MNCs) was expressed in its Resolution 1721, 28 July 1972. Just previous to this, UNCTAD, at its third session (Santiago, Chile, May 1972) had referred to problems as to restrictive business practices involving MNCs.

As a result of the ECOSOC resolution, a group of Eminent Persons were appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General to study the role of MNCs and their impact on the process of development, especially in developing countries. A report prepared by the U.N. Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs to facilitate the deliberations of the experts (*Multinational Corporations in World Development*, ST/ECA/190, New York, 1973) and that of the experts (Report of the Group of Eminent Persons on the *Impact of MNC on the Development Process and on International Relations*, Economic and Social Council, New York, 1974) were important steps toward formulation of policy in this area.

The need for policy in this regard (and some indication of its direction) was manifested in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted by the General Assembly (General Assembly Res. 3201 (S-VI), 1 May 1974), with the assertion that the NIEO should be founded upon (among others) the principle of "Regulation and supervision of the activities of transnational corporations by taking measures in the interest of the national economies of the countries where such transnational corporations operate on the basis of the full sovereignty of those countries." (Section 4, para. (g)).

The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the same time (General Assembly Res. 3202 (S-VI), 1 May 1974) asserted that "All efforts should be made to formulate, adopt and implement an international code of conduct for transnational corporations". Elements of such a code outlined therein included elimination of restrictive business practices, regulation of repatriation of profits, promotion of reinvestment of profits and the prevention of interference in the internal affairs of host countries. (Part V).

Process Development

ECOSOC, in furtherance of policy development in this area, created in 1974 a Commission on Transnational Corporations. That body in turn established an Intergovernmental Working Group on a Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations, which began outlining such a Code. Further, a Centre on Transnational Corporations with responsibility for research and information aggregation began functioning within the U.N. Secretariat in November 1975.

Interfaces

Attempts at development of global policy in this area were preceded by national approaches at regulation of TNC practices. However, developing countries, in particular, have often faced a difficult prospect, especially without global norms to back them up, given the power represented by MNCs and their home governments and in view of the control which MNCs and allied financial institutions often have over desired technology, capital and management skills. Regional regulation approaches have also been pursued, including among the Andean Pact nations, but these again have faced difficult challenges. At the interregional level, a voluntary set of guidelines for MNCs was promulgated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a group comprised largely of powerful capitalist system industrialized nations. For a survey of national policy in this area (with some consideration of regional policy as well), see "Report of the Secretariat, Addendum, National Legislation and Regulations Relating to Transnational Corporations", ECOSOC Doc. E/C/10/8/Add. 1, 26 January 1976.

Appraisal

In terms of protecting developing nation autonomy and insuring that MNC activities are a positive asset in regard to their development imperatives, evolution of global level policy in this area is essential. Enforcement will be difficult even when lines of global level policy have been clearly and adequately established. However, there will then at least be a firmer basis for host country policy formulation and implementation as well as for regulation by nations in which MNCs are headquartered.

Transportation

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ICAO, IMCO, UNCTAD

Policy Development

While in various aspects of this issue area there has been considerable policy development, throughout the period under consideration no integrated approach at the global level has emerged. In an overall sense, it can be said that global policy, whether relating to maritime, road, rail or air transportation, has continued to build upon a base which already had been developed in many respects prior to the Second World War. The general line of policy has been to seek removal or minimization of impediments to transportation and to enhance safety. In the maritime area especially, there has also been continuing work on minimizing pollution, heightened by impact of the Torrey Canyon disaster of 1967. Particular policy development aspects include: Convention on Road Traffic, which came into force on March 26, 1952, resulting from the United Nations Conference on Road and Motor Transport; International Convention on Load Lines (1966) and International Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage (1969), resulting from IMCO initiatives.

Process Development

Establishment of ICAO (headquarters Montreal) in April 1947, of IMCO (headquarters London) in 1959 and of UNCTAD (headquarters Geneva) in 1964 are among notable aspects. IMCO and UNCTAD share responsibilities in the maritime areas, with the former dealing primarily with technical aspects (safety and pollution) and the latter with economic and commercial aspects. (See in this connection and for an overview of U.N. system processes in the transportation area, "Report of the Secretary-General, Comprehensive Analysis of the Activities of the United Nations System in the Field of Transport", ECOSOC Doc. E/5947, 2 May 1977.)

Interfaces

With regard to road and rail transportation, national and regional policy development has been especially salient, perhaps accounting for failure of establishment of any U.N. body with responsibilities primarily focused in these areas. (The U.N. Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ECOSOC and the General Assembly have dealt with global level aspects of these areas.) UNCTAD has served to facilitate interregional cooperation among developing nations.

Appraisal

While in the various components of this issue-area positive substantive policy and policy process development have taken place during the period under study, there is a great need for integration of processes at the global level and this need is likely to become even more urgent in the future.

ENVIRONMENT/WEATHER

This category involves two closely related issue-areas, one dealing with preserving and enhancing the environment and conservation of natural resources, the other with predicting and modifying weather.

Environment/Natural Resources Conservation

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, U.N. Law of the Sea Conferences, U.N. Conference on the Human Environment, UNEP, FAO, IAEA, IMCO, WHO, WMO.

Policy Development

While a number of conventions, treaties and other agreements dealing with particular aspects of this area, such as fish plant and wildlife protection, marine pollution and atomic weapons testing, were entered into during the earlier years of the period under consideration (and some of them prior to its beginning) it was not until well into the second half of the period that a more general concern found significant expression. (For a list of conventions, see "International Conventions and Protocols in the Field of the Environment—Note by the Secretary-General," General Assembly Doc. A/32/156, 23 August 1977.)

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) listed among the steps which states parties to it should take in fulfilling the right to highest attainable standards of physical and mental health "The improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene" (Art. 12 (b)). The Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 sets out among its main goals "The protection and improvement of the human environment" (Art. 13 (c)).

A much more complete statement in this regard was contained in the Declaration on the Human Environment and Action Plan for the Human Environment adopted at the 1972 Stockholm U.N. Conference on the Human Environment. The Declaration asserts that "Man has the fundamental right of freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of quality that permits a life of dignity and well being, and he bears a solemn responsibility to protect and improve the environment for present and future generations." (Principle 1). Thus, "The natural resources of earth, including air, water land, flora and fauna and especially representative samples of natural ecosystems must be safeguarded for the benefit of present and future generations through careful planning or management, as appropriate." (Principle 2).

"The capacity of the earth to produce vital renewable resources must be maintained and, wherever practicable, restored or improved." (Principle 3). "Man has a special responsibility to safeguard and wisely manage the heritage of wildlife and its habitat which are now gravely imperiled by a combination of adverse factors. Nature conservation including wildlife must therefore receive importance in planning for economic development." (Principle 4). "The non-renewable resources of the earth must be employed in such a way as to guard against the danger of their future exhaustion and to ensure that benefits from such employment are shared by all mankind." (Principle 5)

"The discharge of toxic substances or of other substances and the release of heat, in such quantities or concentrations as to exceed the capacity of the environment to render them harmless, must be halted in order to ensure that serious or irreversible damage is not inflicted upon ecosystems. The just struggle of the peoples of all countries against pollution should be supported." (Principle 6). "States shall take all possible steps to prevent pollution of the seas by substances that are liable to create hazards to human health, to harm living resources and marine life, to damage amenities or to interfere with other legitimate uses of the sea." (Principle 7).

As to *national* action, the Declaration asserts that "Appropriate national institutions must be entrusted with the task of planning, managing or controlling the environmental resources of States with the view to enhancing environmental quality." (Principle 17).

Regarding *international* action, the Declaration states that "International matters concerning the protection and improvement of the environment should be handled in a cooperative spirit by all countries, big or small, on an equal footing. Co-operation through multilateral or bilateral arrangements or other appropriate means is essential to effectively control, prevent, reduce and eliminate adverse environmental effects resulting from activities conducted in all spheres, in such a way that due account is taken of the sovereignty and interests of all States." (Principle 24). "States shall ensure that international organizations play a coordinated, efficient and dynamic role for the protection and improvement of the environment." (Principle 25).

The U.N. General Assembly following conclusion of the Stockholm Conference reaffirmed "the responsibility of the international community to take action to preserve and enhance the human environment and, in particular, the need for continuous internatonal co-operation to this end." It took note "with satisfaction" of the Conference report. (Res. 2994 (XXVII), 15 December 1972.) In a related action, the Assembly emphasized that "in the exploration, exploitation and development of their natural resources, States must not produce significant harmful effects in zones situated outside their normal jurisdiction." (Res. 2995 (XXVII), 15 December 1972.)

Also significant regarding policy development in this area were two conferences held during 1977, the U.N. Water Conference, held in Mar del Plata in March and the U.N. Conference on Desertification held in Nairobi in August-September. The Mar del Plata Action Plan and other agreements reached at the meeting, while stressing the primary importance of actions at the national level in all aspects of water resources development and management, also underscored the need for international (global level) and regional efforts in this area. The U.N. General Assembly adopted the Conference report and approved the Mar del Plata Action Plan and other agreements. (Res. 32/158, 19 December 1977.) It recommended that "Governments should consider, where necessary, the desirability of designating national water conference committees or other suitable organizations to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the Conference's recommendations at the national level on the basis of detailed national action programmes." It further recommended "more popular involvement in the process of planning and decision making towards the formulation" of national policy. It also requested the U.N. regional commissions to "strengthen and intensify their responsibilities in the water sector and, to this end, assign specific responsibilities to an intergovernmental committee within the regional commissions." (Res. 32/158, paras. 7, 8.)

At the Nairobi Conference a Plan of Action to Combat Desertification and other measures were adopted. The Conference strongly appealed for the protection of existing vegetation and for revegetation. In the General Assembly's resolution approving the report of the Conference, that body called upon "all Governments to consider, on a priority basis, the recommendations for national action" contained in Part IV of its Plan of Action and to consider "where necessary, the desirability of establishing a national authority to co-ordinate, consolidate and implement national anti-desertification action programmes." The General Assembly also recommended that "subregional co-operation be initiated or intensified, as considered necessary, among countries affected by desertification, with the required assistance from the United Nations Environment Programme and other organizations concerned." It called upon the U.N. regional commissions to "undertake intensified and sustained action in support of national effort to combat desertification" and requested "the organs, organizations and other bodies of the United Nations system to support international action to combat desertification within the context of the Plan of Action." (General Assembly Res. 32/171, 19 December 1977, paras. 4-7.).

Process Development

The single most important step in process development in this area during the period under consideration was establishment following the Stockholm Conference of the United Nations Environment Programme, with headquarters in Nairobi. UNEP functions under a Governing Council of 58 member countries elected by the General Assembly, and has its own secretariat. An Environment Fund was created to provide additional financing for work in the area. (See General Assembly Res. 2997 (XXVII), 15 December 1972.) Another important aspect of process development took place in 1970 with establishment by ECOSOC of a 38 member Committee on Natural Resources.

Interfaces

While the role of national governments in environment/natural resource conservation has been stressed in policy statements, the importance of regional and global level activity has also been made clear. This is a field which manifestly requires effort at all policy levels for effective formulation, implementation and evaluation.

Appraisal

Greater attention should have been given to this area at the global level (as well as national and regional levels) much earlier. However, efforts within the past decade, and especially within the past few years, have evidenced a much more serious commitment to action. Work should be further intensified at all levels, in policy formulation, implementation and evaluation, with special emphasis on the regional level. Given the nature of the problems faced, a regional approach in many cases offers special promise. For an evaluation of U.N. activities in the environmental field see "Programme Evaluation for the Biennium 1974-1975, Environment, Report of the SecretaryGeneral", ECOSOC Doc. E/AC.51/80/ Add. 4, 5 April 1977.

Weather Prediction and Modification

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, WMO

Policy Development

An important advance toward policy delineation in this area took place with entry into force in 1950 of the World Meteorological Convention. (The Convention had been signed in 1947). As stated in the preamble, WMO (established by the Convention) was created "with a view to co-ordinating, standardizing and improving world meteorological activities and to encouraging an efficient exchange or meteorological information between countries in the aid of human activities."

Among WMO's purposes are facilitation of worldwide cooperation in the establishment of networks of meteorological stations, promotion of systems for the rapid exchange of weather information and standardization of meteorological observations. During the 1960s, WMO developed a World Weather Watch system utilizing a myriad of reports and information sources, including space satellite pictures, to assist in carrying out its purposes.

As to weather modification, one aspect of policy was advanced with adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution calling for conclusion of an international convention prohibiting "action to influence the environment and climate for military and other hostile purposes". (Res. 3264 (XXIX), 9 December 1974.) a "Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques" was drafted at the U.N.-related Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (Geneva). The General Assembly, by resolution adopted in 1976, referred the Convention to "all States for their consideration, signature and ratification", expressing its hope "for the widest possible adherence". The Assembly, however, stated that it was "convinced that the Convention should not affect the use of environmental modification techniques for peaceful purposes, which could contribute to the preservation and improvement of the environment for the benefit of present and future generations." (General Assembly Res. 31/72, 10 December 1976.) The Convention itself, which was attached as an Annex to the Assembly's resolution, specifically asserts that its provisions "shall not hinder the use of environmental modification techniques for peaceful purposes and shall be without prejudice to generally recognized principles and applicable rules of international law concerning such use." (Art. III (1)).

Process Development

In addition to creation of the World Meteorological Organization (which commenced activities from headquarters in Geneva in 1951), and a variety of technical commissions within it, including the Commission for Basic Systems, which supervises the World Weather Watch, note can be taken of creation in 1975 of a Weather Modification Programme as an Advisory service to member governments.

Interfaces

In this area, there is considerable scope for regional cooperation in policy formulation and implementation. Within WMO itself, members are grouped into six regional associations covering Africa, Asia, South America, North and Central America, South-West Pacific and Europe. The associations are to coordinate meteorological activity at the regional level and to examine questions referred to them by the WMO Executive Committee from a regional perspective. National level activity is also essential in this field. WMO provides technical assistance for improving national meteorological capabilities, especially in developing nations.

Appraisal

Generally an area in which policy development and implementation have proceeded in a satisfactory fashion, in congruence with the expansion of scientific and technological knowledge. Further attention will undoubtedly have to be given in the near future to policy regarding non-military, non-hostile approaches to weather modification, with special consideration to both potentially beneficial and potentially negative consequences of such activity.

INFORMATION/KNOWLEDGE

As in the case of issue-areas dealt with under the Economic category, those considered under Information/Knowledge are important not only in their own right but as elements in development of the "infrastructure" of the policy process.

Communications

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ITU, UPU

Policy Development

Policy in this area substantially antedates the period under consideration. Efforts to facilitate communications in the world have a long history, but activity burgeoned in the 19th century, as advances in technology made more rapid communication both increasingly feasible and imperative. The Universal Postal Union has continued during the period in question to facilitate international mail delivery through reciprocal exchange of correspondence. The UPU Congress, meeting in Tokyo in 1969, introduced into the Acts of the Union for the first time, provisions concerning standardization of dimensions of articles of correspondence, an important step necessitated by increasing mechanization of postal operations. The International Telecommunications Union has continued its work with regard to frequency allocations to minimize broadcast interference and toward achieving lowest possible charges for telecommunications services.

The major new dimension in communications during the period in question involves space satellites. An Extraordinay Administrative Radio Conference on Space Radiocommunications held in October 1963 allocated about 15% of the entire radio frequency spectrum for outer space. A partial revision of regulations regarding radio communications in outer space accomplished at the ITU-sponsored World Administrative Radio Conference on Space Telecommunications (1971) came into force January 1, 1973.

Process Development

At the Ottawa Congress of the UPU in 1957 a Consultative Committee on Postal Studies was established. At the Tokyo Congress in 1969 this became the Consultative Council for Postal Studies. It is responsible for organizing studies as to problems facing postal administrations in UPU member countries and for providing advice on technical, operational and economic questions affecting postal service.

Interfaces

In view of the fact that problems of frequency allocation and interference have a substantial regional dimension, ITU has worked both through world plan and regional plan committees. An African Broadcasting Conference which concluded its work in 1966 drew up a plan for medium frequencies assignment in the African Broadcasting Area. As in most other issue-areas, policy formulation and implementation at a national level is critical.

Appraisal

It appears that this is an area in which relatively effective coordination between national and global (and where relevant, regional) policy levels can be anticipated. Various practices associated with the "cold war" ("jamming", mail surveillance, etc.) have adversely affected free and efficient flow of communication during the period in question, but notwithstanding such aspects, policy development and implementation have been relatively satisfactory.

Information/Knowledge Aggregation and Dissemination

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, U.N. Statistical Commission, U.N. Statistical Office, U.N. Office of Public Information, UNESCO (as well as all other U.N. system specialized agencies)

Policy Development

By resolution adopted at its first session, the U.N. General Assembly declared that "freedom of information is a fundamental human right and is the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated." (Res. 59 (I).)

Among the primary goals of UNESCO from its formation in 1946 have been the increase and diffusion of knowledge. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) provides that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." (Art. 19). The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) contains in Article 19 similar wording, with the exercise of the rights conditioned, however, as they may be restricted by law necessary for protection of rights of others, national security, public order, public health and morals. This Covenant also declares that "Any propoganda for war shall be prohibited by law" and that "Any advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law." (Art. 20).

The Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 asserts as one of its principles that "Social progress and development require the full utilization of human resources, including, in particular... the dissemination of national and international information for the purpose of making individuals aware of changes occurring in society as a whole". (Art. 5). As one of its main goals, the Declaration calls for "Intensification of international cooperation with a view to ensuring the international exchange of information, knowledge and experience concerning social progress and development". (Art. 24 (a)).

With regard to statistical information, in 1952 a United Nations System of National Accounts was developed, with a revised system adopted by the Statistical Commission of the

Economic and Social Council in 1968. The SNA is a tool for use of countries and international agencies and is designed as a framework for all economic and many social statistics.

Process Development

In addition to the establishment of UNESCO, of the ECOSOC Statistical Commission (first meeting 1947) and of the U.N. Office of Public Information (and comparable offices in various specialized agencies), reference is made to establishment of the U.N. International Trade Statistics Centre in 1963 and the U.N. International Computing Centre in 1965. A Joint United Nations Information Committee was formed in 1974 with responsibility for developing a common U.N. public information system covering activities of the U.N. family of organizations, with special reference to mobilizing public opinion in support of economic and social development. In the area of cartography, the Central Bureau of the International Map of the World on the Millionth Scale was transferred to the U.N. in 1951. The U.N. assists governments concerned in coordinating publication of sheets of the map and in exchanging related information. Agreements between the United Nations and various specialized agencies recognize the responsibility of the agencies to collect and publish statistics within their spheres of concern. See as an example in this connection Art. XV (3) of Agreement between the United Nations and UNESCO as approved by the General Conference of UNESCO and the U.N. General Assembly in December 1946.

Interfaces

This issue-area is one in which both policy formulation and an extensive range of implementation take place at the global level. However, dependence on national governments and other bodies for relevant statistics and other forms of information makes national policy development and cooperation essential in relation to the global level task. As regards the regional level, the U.N. has worked through existing regional bodies with special reference to statistical information. U.N. regional commissions have also been active in providing technical assistance to governments and in aggregating and disseminating statistical and other forms of information in their respective regions.

Appraisal

A great deal of progress has been made in policy formulation and implementation in this area during the period in question. However, it is noteworthy that while work has proceeded on a Declaration on Freedom of Information throughout most of this time — a draft had been prepared as early as 1948 and a question entitled "Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information" has been on the Assembly's agenda since its fifteenth session (1960) — the Declaration was not brought into final form during the period. See in this connection Item 88 "Annotated Preliminary List of Items to be Included in the Provisional Agenda of the Thirty-Second Regular Session of the General Assembly", General Assembly Doc. A/32/100, 15 June 1977 and General Assembly Decision 32/436, adopted 16 December 1977.

Intellectual Property

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNESCO, WIPO

Policy Development

Since the latter part of the 19th century multilateral agreements have been in effect providing protection to intellectual property, especially industrial inventions and literary and artistic works. The basic principle is that signatory states must accord the same protection to works of nationals of other contracting states as that accorded works of their own nationals. (International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property, founded by treaty signed in Paris 1883 and the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, founded by treaty signed in Berne 1886.)

Agreements for the protection of intellectual property entered into during the period in question include the Nice Agreement of June 15, 1957 Concerning the International Classification of Goods and Services for the Purposes of the Registration of Marks, the Lisbon Agreement of October 31, 1958 for the Protection of Appellations of Origin and their International Registration, the Locarno Agreement of October 8, 1968 Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs, the International Patent Classification Agreement of March 24, 1971, the Rome Convention of October 26, 1961 for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organizations and the Geneva Convention of October 29, 1971 for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms Against Unauthorized Duplication of their Phonograms.

Process Development

A World Intellectual Property Organization was established by convention signed in Stockholm in 1967. WIPO, which came into existence in 1970 (with headquarters in Geneva), was in effect the successor to the United International Bureau for the Protection of Intellectual Property formed in 1893, administrator of the Paris and Berne conventions. It administers many intellectual property agreements in addition to these conventions, however, and has as an objective protection of intellectual property throughout the world. WIPO became a specialized agency of the United Nations in 1974, following a 1973 decision of ECOSOC to negotiate with it with a view to bringing it into a U.N. relationsip, and following completion of an agreement between the U.N. and WIPO, approved by the U.N. General Assembly. (Res. 3346 (XXIX), 17 December 1974). UNESCO, however, has responsibility for administering the Universal Copyright Convention. WIPO adminsters the Rome Convention of October 26, 1961 jointly with UNESCO and the International Labour Organisation.

Interfaces

The United States and most Latin American nations did not enter into the Berne Convention, and in a sense they constitute a regional grouping with regard to matters covered by that accord. The Universal Copyright Covention was concluded in 1952 under the auspices of UNESCO to provide a bridge between the two systems. National policy with regard to intellectual property is circumscribed by terms of global (or regional) agreements for those nations which have become parties to them.

Appraisal

Policy formulation and implementation in this area appears to have proceeded in a generally satisfactory fashion during the period under consideration. Provisions for the benefit of developing nations, as in the Appendix to the 1971 Paris revision to the Berne Convention and in the agreement between WIPO and the United Nations (particulary Article 9, Technical Assistance and Article 10, Transfer of Technology) are noteworthy.

Mass Media

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNESCO

Policy Development

Two developments during the period in question have fostered movement toward policy formulation in this area. One is space satellite broadcasting, the other the emergence of many new independent nations with, especially from the late 1960s onward, an increasing sense that their quest for political and cultural autonomy necessitates dealing with problems of media dependency on developed nations. Since 1972 the U.N. General Assembly has been dealing with the question of a possible draft convention on principles governing use by states of space satellites for direct television broadcasting. No definitive policy statements emerged during the period under consideration. UNESCO has also been active in this area, with special reference to protection of developing nations from cultural interference through satellite communication. UNESCO has also assisted developing nations in the evolution of regional news services which would facilitate curbing dependence on news services provided from developed nations. It has worked at the national level in developing nations to facilitate book, television and radio, newspaper and other media production aspects.

Process Development

Establishment of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites of the General Assembly Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is worthy of note in this connection.

Interfaces

The regional aspect of developing nation news service evolution has been noted above. Clearly in this issue-area a mixture of global, national, as well as regional (and interregional) policy is appropriate.

Appraisal

This is an area in which policy is very much in the process of formation at the global level, although in terms of facilitating developing nations in curbing media dependence, a certain amount of actual formulation and implementation has taken place. It appears that this is a field in which much effort toward global policy formulation and implementation is likely to be expanded in the future.

Science

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNESCO

Policy Development

UNESCO's constitution, which became effective in November 1946, commits the organization to promoting collaboration among nations in science as well as education and culture. By decision of UNESCO's General Conference in 1964, science was accorded the same priority as education in the organization's program.

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) provides that the states parties to it recognize "the right of everyone ... to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications." The Covenant further provides that steps to achieve realization of this right shall include those necessary for diffusion of science, and that parties to it "undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity." States parties to the Covenant "recognize the benefits to be derived from the encouragement and development of international contacts and co-operation" in the field of science. (Art. 15). Since the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas, Geneva, February 1963, there has been increasing attention to the role of science in facilitating development.

The Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1969 calls for "Equitable sharing of scientific and technological advances by developed and developing countries, and a steady increase in the use of science and technology for the benefit of the social development of society." (Art. 13 (a)). The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1970 placed emphasis on efforts of developing nations "to expand their capability to apply science ... for development" and of developed nations to increase aid for support of science in these countries. In addition, "Full international co-operation" was called for "for the establishment, strengthening and promotion of scientific research" having "a bearing on the expansion and modernization of the economies of developing countries." (Paras. 60, 62, 63).

Evidence that policy with regard to science is not inevitably in the direction of expansion and diffusion of knowledge can be found in General Assembly pronouncements in the disarmament and arms control field. A resolution under the title "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons" adopted in December 1977 urges states "to refrain from developing new weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles" and calls upon them "to apply scientific discovery for the benefit of mankind. It is worth noting in this context that the Declaration of Social Progress and Development (1969) had called for "The establishment of a harmonious balance between scientific, technological and material progress and the intellectual, spiritual, cultural and moral advancement of humanity." (Art. 13 (b)). For further references regarding the application of science to development, see the Technology issue-area, which follows.

Process Development

In addition to establishment of UNESCO itself, note may be taken of creation within that organization of a Science Policy Division and of science co-operation offices in Latin America, the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia as well as a regional centre for science and technology in Africa.

Interfaces

Regional level efforts of UNESCO have been noted above. Regarding regional level efforts of the United Nations itself, see "Interfaces" portion of Technology issue-area.

Appraisal

While there are many positive elements of global level policy as formulated and implemented during the period in question, its orientation has almost surely been overbalanced in terms of emphasis on positive aspects of expansion and diffusion of scientific knowledge. Negative uses of developments in science are all too well known especially in the weapons field. Increasing attention will have to be given to formulating and implementing policy aiming both toward expanding and disseminating scientific knowledge, and in certain areas, where imperatives for human survival require it, for restraint in this regard.

Technology

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNCTAD, UNIDO

Policy Development

The rapid growth in number of independent nations with imperative needs for social, political and economic development during the first half of the period under consideration has had considerable impact on evolution of policy in this area. Largely subsumed under "science" until about 1960, technology began to emerge thereafter as an area in its own right. Problems related to restraints or impediments to technology transfers from developed to developing nations and related to misapplications of technology in contexts in which it could be regarded as "inappropriate" in terms of manpower availability or other factors were recognized with increasing clarity and steps taken toward formulation and implementation of corrective policy.

The United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas (1963) was a significant step toward focusing attention in this general area. The Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1969 called for "The broadest possible international, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation and reciprocal utilization of the experience of countries with different economic and social systems and different levels of development, on the basis of mutual advantage and strict observance of and respect for national sovereignty", as well as for "Increased utilization of science and technology for social and economic development" and for "arrangements for the transfer and exchange of technology, including know-how and patents, to the developing countries." (Art. 24)

The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, among various relevant provisions under a heading "Science and Technology" asserts that "Developed and developing countries and competent international organizations will draw up and implement a programme for promoting the transfer of technology to developing countries, which will include, *inter alia*, the review of international conventions on patents, the identification and reduction of obstacles to the transfer of technology to developing countries, facilitating access to patented and nonpatented technology for developing countries under fair and reasonable terms and conditions, facilitating the utilization of technology transferred to developing countries in such a manner as to assist these countries in attaining their trade and development objectives, the development of technology suited to the productive structures of developing countries and measures to accelerate the development of indigenous technology." (General Assembly Res. 2626 (XXV), 24 October 1970).

At the same General assembly session adopting the International Development Strategy, the Assembly adopted a separate resolution containing a number of relevant provisions under the title "The Role of Modern Science and Technology in the Development of Nations and the Need to Strengthen Economic and Technico-scientific Cooperation Among States." After calling for governments to give attntion to the promotion of technology (and science) in their national policies and to encourage international cooperation, it recommended that "the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and other appropriate organizations continue and intensify, within their competence, their efforts for the transfer of operative technology to the developing countries, including assistance for the promotion of indigenous technnology." (General Assembly Res. 2658 (XXV), 7 December 1970, para. 7).

The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly (1974) contained a section on Transfer of Technology and also a section on Promotion of Cooperation Among Developing Countries in which these countries were advised to "promote and establish effective instruments of co-operation in the field of ... science and technology." (Part VII (h)). Provisions dealing with technology (and science) figured prominently in the resolution entitled "Development and International Economic Co-operation" adopted at the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly. (1975). The importance of cooperation among developing countries, including with regard to transfer of technology, was underscored. (Part VI (c)).

A World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development as well as regional plans for Africa, Asia and the Far East. Latin America and Western Asia have been developed. See in this regard ECOSOC resolutions 1823 (LV), 10 August 1973 and 1900 (LVII), 1 August 1974.

With regard to the impact of technology on employment, the Programme of Action adopted by the 1976 World Employment Conference convened under International Labour Organization auspices contains a number of salient provisions under the heading "Technologies for Productive Employment Creation in Developing Countries". The Plan notes that "The exclusive use of labour-intensive techniques will neither solve the problems of the developing countries nor reduce their dependence on industrialized countries." It further asserts that "the exclusive use of capital-intensive techniques will present the developing countries with serious problems: financial difficulties, lack of managerial staff and supervisory personnel and delays in the solution to employment problems." It calls for "a reasonable balance between labour-intensive and capital-intensive techniques, with a view to achieving the fundamental aim of maximising growth and employment and satisfying basic needs." (Part III, para. 49).

Process Development

A Committee on Science and Technology for Developmeht and an Intergovernmental Working Group of this Committee, as well as an Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology for Development have been established by the Economic and Social Council. The latter came into existence in 1964 and has been active in regard to policy formulation. An Office of Science and Technology within the Department of Economic and Social Affairs is a center for U.N. Secretariat work in this area. Establishment of UNCTAD and UNIDO as elements of the U.N. system can also be regarded as relevant, given their involvement in this field.

Interfaces

Substantial activity within interregional as well as regional groupings of developing nations can be noted. This activity constitutes an especially important link between national level activity and global level activity in this field.

Appraisal

This is clearly an area in which policy is now rapidly evolving, especially with regard to the imperatives associated with developing nation needs. Just as clearly, much more must be done in regard to formulation and implementation in view of the signal importance of technology for development and in view of the need to see that it is utilized in congruence with rather than in conflict with human needs.

POLITICAL

The issue-areas dealt with in this category are unique in that they are highly salient to the creation and preservation of basic units of the world policy system (nation-states) and simultaneously constitute policy outputs of the system.

Decolonization

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, Security Council, Trusteeship Council, Council on Namibia, Special Committe on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and Special Committee on Apartheid.

Policy Development

The first few centuries since the potential for global policy has existed (circa 1500) saw what must, from a global consciousness perspective, be regarded as negative policy in this area. Under European hegemony, much of the world was regarded as subject to colonization. European policy favored and justified colonialism, though needless to say this policy perspective was not universally accepted, especially in the areas colonized.

The League of Nations did not reflect marked change from this perspective, although it established a mandate system for administering territories which had been colonized by the losing powers in World War I. Unaffected were colonies of the winning powers. For those in the hands of losers there was largely a substitution of colonial mentor. The League proved incapable of dealing with the "new colonialism" of the 1930s -Japan in Manchuria and Italy in Ethiopia.

The United Nations Charter reflected an advance toward decolonization but was far from clear-cut in support of this position. See in this regard especially Art. 1 (2), Art. 55 and Chapters XI and XII. However, following the entrance into independence status of a number of nations in the 15 years following the end of World War II, the United Nations General Assembly, its ranks swelled by nations freshly out of of colonial status, voted in 1960 an outright assertion of the illegitimacy of colonialism, and called for "immediate steps" to end colonial control and for achievement of independence. (Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, General Assembly Res. 1514 (XV), 14 December 1960.) Ten years later, at its Twenty-Fifth Session, the General Assembly, seeking to give further impetus to decolonization efforts, adopted a "Programme of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". (General Assembly Res. 2621 (XXV), 12 October 1970).

Process Development

Notable aspects include establishment in 1961 by the General Assembly of a Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in 1967 of the Council for Namibia, to administer on behalf of the United Nations that area. Impetus to decolonization efforts of specialized agencies and other organizations within the U.N. system and to their cooperation with the Organization of African Unity in that regard was given by General Assembly Res. 31/30, 29 November 1976, on Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence.

Interfaces

Cooperative efforts by global level agencies, interregional groupings (such as the group of Non-Aligned Countries), regional groups (especially the Organization of African States), liberation movements seeking decolonization of particular areas and nation-states able to assist in achievement of the stated goal of independence are required for effective implementation. (See in this regard the 1960 Declaration, the 1970 Programme of Action and the 1976 implementation resolution.)

Appraisal

Clearly this is an issue-area in which considerable progress has been made toward achieving the stated policy goals. However, one need only note the continued colonial status of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the lack of any transition in South Africa to control by the majority population of that area, as well as the unresolved status of the Palestinian people to be aware of the further gains which must be made. For an overview of developments with regard to decolonization since 1945 see "The United Nations and Decolonization -- Highlights of Thirty Years of United Nations Efforts on Behalf of Colonial Countries and Peoples", Office of Public Information, United Nations, New York, 1977. Regarding cooperation of U.N. system agencies in this effort see "Report of the Secretary-General — Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the Specialized Agencies and the International Institutions Associated with the United Nations", General Assembly Doc. A/32/87, 13 May 1977.

Disarmament and Arms Control

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, Security Council, Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), IAEA, as well as multilateral and bilateral negotiations.

Policy Development

The policy orientation of the U.N. Charter in this area is spelled out primarily in Art. 26, under which the Security Council is to be responsible for formulating plans "for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments" in order to "promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources." Article 11 of the Charter provides that the General Assembly "may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both."

Numerous General Assembly resolutions with regard to disarmament and arms control have been adopted through the years, from that body's first session, 1946, through the last session held during the period under consideration, 1977. (See in this connection "Disarmament Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly -- Background Paper Prepared by the Secretariat", General Assembly Doc. A/AC.187/29, 5 May 1977 and addendum to this document issued as A/AC.187/29/Add. 1, 24 March 1978.)

The first tangible steps towards putting into effect policy in this issue-area (aside from those provided for in the Antarctic Treaty entered into December 1959, as outlined previously under the Antarctica issue-area) were those taken with the signing in June 1963 of the agreement between the USSR and the USA calling for establishment of a direct communications link ("hot line") to reduce the danger of unintentional nuclear exchanges and the signing in August of that year by the United Kingdom, USSR and USA of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. (More than one hundred other nations have joined the original signatories as parties to this agreement.)

It is worth noting that the preamble to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water contains a provision under which the original parties to it proclaim "as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an international control in accordance with the objectives of the United nations which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons."

In September 1961 the USSR and USA had issued for circulation to U.N. members a joint statement of agreed principles as the basis for future disarmament negotiations. This statement set forth as a prime goal achievement of a program which would insure that "disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems." (Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879). By resolution adopted in December 1961, the U.N. General Assembly recommended negotiations based upon the principles thus agreed to. (Res. 1722 (XVI), 20 December 1961).

Since 1963 a number of other agreements contributing to policy development in this issue-area have been signed, among them: the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (1967); the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (1967); the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968); the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (1971); the Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1971); the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and on Their Destruction (1972); the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (1972); the Interim Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (1972); the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Nuclear War (1973); the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests (1974); the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Underground

Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (1976); and the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Other Hostile Use of Environment Modification Techniques (1977). (Many of the agreements cited above are discussed in the United Nations Disarmament Yearbook, Vol. 1: 1976, published by the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, United Nations Centre for Disarmament, New York, 1977.)

Process Development

During the latter half of the thirty three year period under consideration, most of the policy deliberation in this issue-area has taken place either within the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) or the U.N. General Assembly itself. The CCD, established in 1961 as the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENCD) and transformed in 1969 to a 26-nation body under the CCD title, is co-chaired by the USSR and the USA and meets in Geneva. It has received U.N. General Assembly endorsement in its organization and activities. For background on CCD and other disarmament bodies see "A Brief Synopsis of Disarmament and Arms Limitation Negotiations since 1945 — Including Their Results — Carried out Within the Framework of the United Nations, on a Regional Basis, or Bilaterally, with Indication, Where Appropriate, of the Procedures Followed to Keep the United Nations Informed — Working Paper Prepared by the Secretariat". General Assembly document A/AC.187/67, 12 August 1977.

Establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1957 provided an entity with responsibilities and capabilities for overseeing safeguards against utilization for military purposes of nuclear facilities or materials intended for peaceful purposes. IAEA is utilized in this sense under the terms of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968). See in particular Art. III. See generally as to the IAEA safeguards role "Non-Proliferation and International Safeguards", published by the International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, 1978.

Proposals for a world disarmament conference to deal with the many concerns in this issue-area were put forth a number of times during the latter half of the period under consideration. While such a conference did not eventuate, a special session of the U.N. General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held in New York in May-June 1978 under the terms of General Assembly resolution 31/189, adopted December 21, 1976.

Interfaces

The role of nation-states themselves in regard to policy formulation and implementation is manifested in the preceding discussion under Policy Development. As to regional level policy, special reference is made to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (1967), referred to above. See as to this and other regional nuclear weapon-free regional plans "Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones", Office of Public Information, United Nations, New York, 1977. With regard to European regional activity in this area, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, resulting in the Helsinki accord signed in August 1975, and the Conference on the Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments in Central Europe are worthy of note.

Appraisal

Viewed from the perspective of prophesies often heard in the early years after World War II that no progress could be expected toward achieving agreement on weapons development, production and deployment, accomplishments from 1963 onward in this issue-area are noteworthy. On the other hand, the imperative for development and implementation of disarmament and arms control policies is dramatic and clearcut, especially when full account is taken of such factors as: the burgeoning danger of nuclear destruction with continuing additions to superpower and other nations' arsenals, both in terms of nuclear weapons and of delivery systems; expanding potential for proliferation in the number of nations and other actors armed with such weapons; incessant increases in world military expenditures, representing in the context of continuing immense unmet social, economic and political development needs an unjustifiable and outrageously large diversion of human and material resources. With regard to analysis of the impact of arms expenditures on economic and social development see "Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race and its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security – Report of the Secretary-General", United Nations General Assembly document A/32/88, 12 August 1977.

Limitations on Use of Force in Armed Conflicts

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, Security Council, Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), multilateral negotiations.

Policy Development

Much policy in this area dates from the latter part of the 19th and early part of the twentieth centuries. The Hague Declarations, Conventions and Regulations of 1899 and 1907 are among the more important formulations of this period. A significant development of the post-World War I period was the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare signed in Geneva June 17, 1925.

Following World War II, policy with respect to protection of the victims of war was developed, revised and restated in the four Geneva conventions of August 1949, titled respectively: Amelioration of the Conditions of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field; Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea; Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War; and Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

In November 1961 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear and Thermo-Nuclear weapons in which it was asserted that "The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would exceed even the scope of war and cause indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and civilization and, as such, is contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity." (Res. 1653 (XVI), 24 November 1961). During the 1970s work has proceeded both within and outside the United Nations on development of policy to promote respect for human rights in armed conflict. See in this connection General Assembly resolutions 2852 (XXVI), adopted December 20, 1971 and 32/152, adopted December 19, 1977. Under terms of the latter resolution, it was decided to "convene in 1979 a United Nations conference with a view to reaching agreements on prohibitions or restrictions of the use of specific conventional weapons, including those which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects, taking into account humanitarian and military considerations, and on the question of a system of periodic review of this matter for consideration of further proposals." (para. 2)

Process Development

Much of the discussion as to Process Development in the preceding presentation on Disarmament and Arms Control is relevant, especially that pertaining to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD). Regarding the Diplomatic Conference on Re-affirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, which has been holding sessions in Geneva since 1974, see *The United Nations Disarmament Yearbook*, Vol. I: 1976, pp. 192-200. See also "Respect for Human Rights in Armed Conflicts – Fourth Session of the Diplomatic Conference on Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts – Report of the Secretary-General", General Assembly Document A/32/144, 15 August 1977.

Interfaces

This has been an issue-area in which global level formulation has been a dominant factor, with apparently relatively little formulation activity at the regional level. Implementation at the national level, in terms of adherence to policy by governments as they engage in armed conflict, has been and remains critical.

Appraisal

It is easy enough to be cynical about the extent to which policy in this area affects the practice of armed forces engaged in combat, given the experience of military conflict in this century, including that of World War II and the Vietnam War. However, it is unquestionable that policies regarding limitation on use of force have had some ameliorating impact. Thus, while the first imperative is to reduce levels of armed conflict, per se, there is continuing need for development and implementaton of policy limiting the use of force in such conflict.

Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, Security Council, International Court of Justice

Policy Development

The United Nations Charter mandates that parties to a dispute likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security utilize peaceful methods of settlement. (Articles 1 and 2 and Chapter VI). Thus, in effect, war is ruled out as a legitimate activity. However, under Art. 51 of the Charter the right of individual and collective self-defense is recognized, subject to Security Council authority and responsibility for restoring peace and security. The Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, approved by the General Assembly in resolution 2625 (XXV) adopted October 24, 1970, proclaims as one of its key principles "that States settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered."

Process Development

The importance of advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice is worth nothing in this connection. Doubtless the most dramatic instance in which this approach has been utilized to buttress United Nations authority came with the Court's opinion (1971) confirming previous U.N. determinations as to the illegality of the Pretoria regime's control of South West Africa.

Interfaces

Under U.N. Charter provisions referred to above, the primary responsibility for seeking peaceful settlement of disputes is upon individual nations. Regarding regional aspects, the Charter states that U.N. members entering into regional arrangements or constituting regional agencies "shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes" through such arrangements or agencies before referring them to the Security Council. (Art. 52 (2)).

Appraisal

The existence of numerous instances of armed conflicts involving a variety of nations during the period under consideration stands as clear evidence that peaceful settlement of disputes has not been the mode of universal choice and application. However, the fact that in a number of situations it has been possible to achieve dispute settlement without armed conflict is indicative of a relative degree of goal achievement. It would appear that the global level has been more salient regarding policy formulation and implementation in this issue-area than the regional, suggesting the desirability of increasing attention to development of regional capabilities and commitments.

Territorial Integrity and Political Autonomy

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, Security Council

Policy Development

The U.N. Charter provides that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state..." (Art. 2 (4)) and that "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members" (Art. 2 (1)). Two declarations adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly have stated more explicitly goals regarding territorial integrity and political autonomy. See "Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations", (General Assembly Res. 2625 (XXV), 24 October 1970) and Declaration on the Strengthening of Internatonal Security (General Assembly Res. 2734 (XXV), 16 December 1970).

Process Development

Facilitation of General Assembly consideration of threats to territorial integrity or political autonomy was provided for in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution (General Assembly Res. 377 (V), 3 November 1950). Membership in the Security Council was broadened from 11 to 15 and the affirmative vote requirement for that body's decisions changed from seven to nine by U.N. Charter amendments which took effect August 31, 1965. The practice in the Council of not considering abstention from voting by a permanent member as a "veto" should also be noted. Also relevant is adoption by the General Assembly of Res. 3314 (XXIX), 14 December 1974, defining aggression as "the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, as set out in this Definition" and enumerating types of behavior which would qualify as acts of aggression.

Interfaces

Nation-state involvement in carrying out recommendations of the General Assembly or decisions of the Security Council with regard to goals in this issue-area is a critical element of implementation. Further, under U.N. Charter Article 51, the right of individual or collective self-defense is assured, subject to limitations stated therein. As to regional involvement, its legitimacy is recognized in Article 52 of the Charter, again subject to stated limitations.

Appraisal

A relatively high degree of success in goal attainment in this issue-area can be noted, at least insofar as territorial integrity is concerned, considering that for the vast majority of nations territorial integrity has not been severely threatened. In a number of instances where it was threatened, territorial integrity was maintained, either through United Nations action or self-defense (individual or collective) or a combination of these approaches. As to political autonomy, problems regarding achievement of policy goals in this regard have been evident throughout the period under consideration. The need for increased efforts at global, regional and national levels as to policy formulation (and implementation) and evaluation is clearcut.

SOCIAL

The issue-areas dealt with in this category are at the very core of substantive public policy in that they deal directly with policy system "outputs" intended to improve the lives of people. In the words of the preamble to the United Nations Charter, they relate to the promotion of "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" and to the "social advancement of all peoples."

Aging

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC

Policy Development

The Declaration of Social Progress and Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 (Res. 2542 (XXIV)), proclaimed the necessity of protecting the rights and assuring the welfare of the aged. Previously, in adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Assembly had asserted the right to security in the event of old age (Art. 25). In 1973, the Assembly drew the attention of member states to the need for short and long-term policies and programs for the elderly, recommending that they take into account the need to better the lives of the aged and enhance their contribution to economic and social development. (Res. 3137 (XXVIII), 14 December 1973). The Assembly also stressed the importance of social security for the elderly (Res. 3138, 14 December 1973). Again in 1977, the Assembly drew attention to the need for national programs to include elements with respect to improving the status of the aged and requested that consideration be given to proclaiming an International Year of the Aging. (Resolutions 32/131 and 32/132, 16 December 1977).

Process Development

There appears to be no unit of ECOSOC or of the U.N. Secretariat focusing primarily on this area. However, general enhancement of ECOSOC and U.N. Secretariat capabilities during the period in question is relevant.

Interfaces

Global level policy in this area clearly assumes the need for national level policy formulation and implementation. Undoubtedly, within some regional groupings, relevant work is being undertaken, but again the national level is presumably critical, at least for policy implementation, and probably for formulation.

Appraisal

The 1973 General Assembly resolution cited above refers to the growing magnitude of problems of the aged, especially considering that they represent an expanding proportion of the total population in a number of countries. The 1977 Assembly resolution notes "the growing interest for developing and developed societies in the fuller participation of the elderly in the mainstream of national societies. Clearly this area is one in which more attention must and will be given at global and national (and hopefully at regional) levels in the years ahead.

Children

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNICEF

Policy Development

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 contains, especially in Article 10, a variety of relevant statements, including the assertion that states parties to it recognize that "Special measures of protection and assistance should be taken on behalf of all children and young persons without discrimination for reasons of parentage or other conditions" and that they "should be protected from economic and social exploitation." In 1959, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Rights of the Child, drawing special attention to the needs of children and of humankind's responsibility to provide this group the best it can give. (General Assembly Res. 1386 (XIV)). In 1976 the Assembly proclaimed 1979 the International Year of the Child "to provide a framework for advocacy on behalf of children ... for enhancing the awareness of the special needs of children on the part of decision-makers and the public" as well as "To promote recognition of the fact that programmes for children should be an integral part of economic and social development plans, with a view to achieving, in both the long-term and the short-term, sustained activities for the benefit of children at the national and international levels." (General Assembly Res. 31/169, 21 December 1976, paras. 2 (a) and (b)).

Process Development

The U.N. General Assembly has given UNICEF special responsibilities in implementation (and having a related input into formulation) with regard to this issue-area since the Fund was established by it in December 1946. Initially created on a temporary basis especially in reference to needs relating to war damage and turmoil, UNICEF was put on a more permanent basis in 1953, when the "Emergency" was dropped from its name. UNICEF's espousal of a "basic services" approach to meeting the needs of children, especially in developing nations (attempting to provide essential services at the village and urban level through integrated programs), developed in the 1970s, won General Assembly endorsement in 1975. (Res. 3408 (XXX), 28 November 1975).

Interfaces

While UNICEF works directly at the national level (especially, from 1950 onward, in developing countries) in the implementation of global policy, national level efforts, both by developed and developing countries, are crucial in putting policy into actual effect. Regional level activity in this issue-area does not appear to be substantial, in general.

Appraisal

The General Assembly's endorsement in 1974 of the decision of UNICEF's Executive Board entitled "Declaration of an Emergency for Children in Developing Countries as a Result of the Current Economic Crisis" (Res. 3250 (XXIX), 4 December 1974), is symbolic of the need for intensified efforts to meet the goals of policy in this issue-area. Increased regional level policy formulation and implementation, along with heightened global and national level activity, are called for.

Crime Control and Prevention

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, United Nations Congresses on the Prevention of Crime

Policy Development

While leaving details as to formulation and implementation to national governments, global policy in this area has been expressed over the years in support of assistance to governments in curbing and preventing crime and in dealing with the social and other conditions which foster it as well as in sharing through international conferences and other means relevant knowledge and insights. See in this connection General Assembly Res. 32/59, 8 December 1977, which refers to previous Assembly and ECOSOC pronouncements in the area, as well as General Assembly Res. 32/60, 8 December 1977. See also General Assembly Res. 3021 (XXVII), 18 December 1972.

Further, the development of humane norms for treatment of prisoners and fostering of their rehabilitation has received support. Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, states that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment", a position reasserted in Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the Assembly in 1966. Article 10 of this Covenant states that "All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of a human person." It also asserts that "The penetentiary system shall comprise treatment of prisoners the essential aim of which shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation." More detailed provisions regarding torture and related practices were contained in a "Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from being Subjected to Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment" adopted by Assembly Resolution 3452 (XXX) in December

1975.

Further, the General Assembly in 1977 reaffirmed (referring to previous Assembly and ECOSOC resolutions) that "the main objective to be pursued in the field of capital punishment is that of progressively restricting the number of offenses for which the death penalty may be imposed with a view to the desirability of abolishing this punishment." (Res. 32/61, adopted 8 December 1977.). Internatonal terrorism has in recent years been the subject of General Assembly resolutions encouraging states both to "seek just a peaceful solutions to the underlying causes which give rise to such acts of violence" and inviting them to "take all appropriate measures at the national level with a view to the speedy and final elimination of the problem." However, the legitimacy of movements for self-determination and national liberation is upheld. See General Assembly Res. 32/147, 16 December 1977. Also see General Assembly Res. 31/101, 15 December 1976.

Process Development

In 1950 the General Assembly agreed to the take-over by the United Nations of functions of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, a long-established intergovernmental organization. The Economic and Social Council, through its Commission for Social Development, receives reports from a committee of experts and working groups of experts, the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control. Work of this committee is supported by the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section of the Social Development Division within the U.N. Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs. A U.N. Social Defense Research Institute was established in Rome, beginning work in January 1968. United nations Congresses on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders have been held in various parts of the world each five years since the first congress was convened in Geneva in 1955. In attendance are government representatives, U.N. agency personnel, non-governmental organization representatives, interested experts and other individuals. Declarations or resolutions adopted by the congresses provide policy guidance and direction and may be the subject of endorsement by ECOSOC as well as by General Assembly resolutions.

Interfaces

Increasing attention is being given to cooperation between global and regional levels in this area. (See in this connection General Assembly Res. 32/59, 8 December 1977, para. 3.). However, the major responsibility for policy formulation and implementation remains at the national level, as reflected for instance in a recent General Assembly statement "Reaffirming the right of each State to formulate and implement national policies and programmes in the field of crime prevention and control in accordance with its own needs and priorities." (General Assembly Res. 32/60, 8 December 1977.). For a recent survey of national crime and crime control patterns see "Report of the Secretary-General -- Crime Prevention and Control", General Assembly Doc. A/32/199, 22 September 1977.

Appraisal

Increases in crime in most categories on a world basis (as reported, for instance in the Report of the Secretary- General just cited), make it evident that policy in this area, whether at global, regional or national levels, has not been adequate to the challenge. Special attention should be given to improving regional policy processes in view of variations of social and other conditions from region to region. For a report of a recent (October 1977) regional meeting dealing with this issue-area see

"Note by the Secretary-General -- Report on the European Regional Preparatory Meeting on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders", General Assembly Doc. A/CONF. 87/BP/1, 27 February 1978.

Conditions of Work

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ILO

Policy Development

The General Conference of the International Labour Organization, meeting in its 26th Session in Philadelphia, adopted in May 1944 a Declaration Concerning Aims and Purposes which recognized the organization's obligation to further programs to achieve "policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of protection" as well as "adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations." Section III (d) and (g)). In the years since, much ILO effort has gone into the development of conventions and recommendations designed to establish standards for national and regional policy in these areas.

A further aspect of global policy is reflected in Article 7 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1966. Under this article, parties to the Covenant "recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work", including "Fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value", "Safe and healthy working conditions" and "Rest, leisure and reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay, as well as remuneration for public holidays."

Process Development

ILO, an organization dating to the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I, operates under the policy guidance of its Conference, a body in which employers and workers are represented in national delegations along with governmental appointees. Conventions adopted by the Conference obligate governments to seek national policy development in line with standards set. Recommendations of the Conference provide guidance for national and regional policy formulation and implementation. ILO members are obligated to provide the Organization with periodic reports of steps taken to give effect to conventions and recommendations.

Interfaces

Under its constitution (Art. 38), ILO may convene regional conferences and establish regional agencies to promote its aims and purposes. This provides a means for relating policy formulation to particular regional conditions and to having liaison with intergovernmentmental organizations established with respect to the regions. However, the primary emphasis with regard to putting into effect policies (standards) embodied in conventions and recommendations is at the national level. Provision is made in the ILO Constitution as to the relationship between central government and subnational units in federal systems with regard to policy development in line with ILO Conference conventions and recommendations. (Art. 19, Section 7).

Appraisal

While successful in developing in some detail global level standards for conditions of work, the ILO approach nonetheless encounters substantial problems in regard to actual implementation at the national level. This is true even in the case of conventions and recommendatons ostensibly adopted as part of national government policy. Part of the problem relates to differences in capabilities for implementation between developed and developing nations and among various categories of countries in the developing category. Steps toward integration of ILO efforts in this issue-area into the mainstream of ECOSOC and U.N. General Assembly social and economic development work could heighten attention and provide, through the workings of public opinion, additional pressure for regional and national action.

Consumer Protection

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, FAO, WHO

Policy Development

As knowledge about the damages to health and environment that can result from food, drugs and pesticides (including their packaging) has grown during the period under consideration, so too (to some extent) has policy at the global level. Developing nations have been especially needful of protection at this level since they often import a considerable range of items but lack facilities for product testing. WHO, through its World Health Assembly, had expressed concern regarding increasing use of various chemical substances in the food industry as early as 1953.

Under joint FAO/WHO aegis a conference was held on food additives in 1955. FAO in 1961 joined with WHO's Expert Committee on Pesticide Residues in drafting principles governing consumer safety in this regard. In 1962 WHO and FAO created the Codex Alimentarius Commission for purposes of protecting consumer health and to ensure fair practices in the food trade. With regard to efforts at ensuring drug quality, WHO's World Health Assembly and Executive Board passed some seventeen resolutions in this area in the period from 1963 to 1974.

Consumer protection has also been considered in relation to regulation of the activities of multinational corporations, with the U.N. Group of Eminent Persons suggesting, among other measures, that the corporations be required to reveal any essential regulations imposed in their home countries so that host countries could decide whether they wanted to adopt similar measures. See with regard to global level policy in the food, pesticide and pharmaceutical drug areas David A. Kay, *The International Regulation of Pesticide Residues in Food* and Kay, *The International Registration of Pharmaceutical Drugs*, both published by the American Society of International Law, Washington, 1976. As to consumer protection aspects of regulation of multinational corporations, see Rainer Hellman, *Transnational Control of Multinational Corporations* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977), especially pp. 112-15.

Process Development

Coordination of efforts of FAO and WHO in this area has been noted above, as have been U.N. activities aimed toward regulation of multinational corporations.

Interfaces

Regional policy (except with regard to Europe) does not appear to have developed substantially. National efforts to protect consumers, in line with information and guidance provided from the global level, are critical.

Appraisal

A barely tapped area in terms of global policy considering the magnitude of problems faced, especially in developing countries. Fragmentation of process at the global level among various agencies should be dealt with through an integrated council or even through establishment of a Consumer Protection Agency within the U.N. system. There is also need for more global level consumer advocacy (or "muck-raking") as a counterpart to this type of activitiy conducted with some success in particular countries, to inform and involve world opinion, to energize those entrusted with responsibilities in this area and for involvement in substantive policy evaluation.

Cultural

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNESCO

Policy Development

Under the terms of Article 55 (b) of its Charter, the United Nations is to "promote ... international cultural ... cooperation." The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, provides that "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." (Art. 27). The International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 also contain relevant provisions. See especially Art. 15 of the former and Arts. 19 and 27 of the latter.

UNESCO has been active in supporting creation of works of culture, their protection, facilitation of public access to them and the expansion of inter-cultural appreciation. In 1970, its General Conference adopted a Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, a matter followed up by the U.N. General Assembly with resolutions adopted in 1973, 1975 and 1977 under the title "Restitution of Works of Art to Countries Victims of Expropriation". (Resolutions 3187 (XXVIII), 3391 (XXX) and 32/18).

Process Development

The United Nations Charter states as one of the organization's purposes achievement of international cooperation in solving international problems of a cultural character. (Art. 1, Section 3). Under Article 62 of the Charter, ECOSOC is empowered to undertake work in the cultural area. UNESCO was established as a specialized agency within the U.N. system in 1946.

Interfaces

Policy formulation and implementation at the national level is necessary for effectiveness of global level policy in this issue-area. Regional level formulation and implementation could be an effective linkage element between global and national spheres.

Appraisals

Doubtless many aspects of cultural policy at the global level require further development. However, progress has been significant and important contributions to preserving and advancing culture and to cultural understanding have been made. Increased activity regarding this issue-area at the regional level would appear to be one of the possible areas for development.

Disability Prevention and Rehabilitation

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ILO, UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO

Policy Development

The Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 (Res. 2544 (XXIV)), proclaimed the necessity of protecting the rights and assuring the welfare and rehabilitation of the physically and mentally handicapped. In 1975, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, which provided that "Disabled persons are entitled to the measures designed to enable them to become as self-reliant as possible" and that they "shall be protected against all exploitation, all regulations and all treatment of a discriminatory, abusive or degrading nature." (General Assembly Res. 3447 (XXX), 9 December 1975).

The following year, the Assembly, in a resolution entitled "Implementation of the Declaration of the Rights of Disabled Persons", recommended that all member states take into account the rights and principles of the Declaration in "establishing their policies, plans and programmes" and likewise recommended that "all international organizations and agencies concerned should include in their programmes provisions ensuring their "effective implementation". (Res. 31/82, 13 December 1976). At the same session the Assembly proclaimed 1981 International Year for Disabled Persons, including, in a set of objectives for the year, the promotion of "all national and international efforts to provide disabled persons with proper assistance, training, care and guidance, to make available opportunities for suitable work and to ensure their full integration into society." (Res. 31/123, 16 December 1976).

Process Development

An inter-agency meeting (within the U.N. system) was held in Geneva in November 1974 to further coordination and joint planning in this area. An International Institute for Rehabilitation in Developing Countries was established in 1976 by the Government of Iran in cooperation with the U.N., ILO, UNESCO and WHO. A United Nations Expert Group meeting on Barrier Free Design was held in June 1974 and one on the Elimination of Social Barriers to the Integration of Disabled Persons into Community Life in June-July 1976. (See in this connection pp. 13-15 *Social Development Newsletter, April 1977 published by Social Development Division, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, U.N. Secretariat.)*

Interfaces

National level policy formulation and implementation is essential to give any substantial meaning to global level policy. Regional action in this area could be useful in spurring and assisting with national policy development as well as in providing input into global level policy formulation.

Appraisal

This is clearly an area which has received increased attention at the global level (as well as national), in recent years. Substantial further progress can be anticipated in the future. Hopefully the 1981 International Year for Disabled Persons will add impetus in this regard. The initiative of Iran regarding rehabilitation augers well for developing nation interregional cooperation. At the regional level, there is doubtless much room for advancement.

Disaster, Relief, Warning and Prevention

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, International Red Cross/Crescent, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF (and other U.N. system agencies)

Policy Development

While the United Nations and its specialized agencies had been involved with disaster assistance for some years previously, a 1971 General Assembly resolution gave important impetus in this area, providing for establishment of an office to coordinate efforts within the U.N. system and among other agencies, in cooperation with states in need of and states providing assistance. The office was given responsibility for promoting "the study, prevention, control and prediction of natural disasters, including the collection and dissemination of information concerning technical developments." (General Assembly Res. 2816 (XXVI), 14 December 1971. See also General Assembly Res. 2959 (XXVII), 3152 (XXVIII), 3243 (XXIX), 3340 (XXX), 31/172, 31/173 and 32/56.).

Process Development

The office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO) was established in Geneva in March 1972. In the years since, its ability to respond to needs of disaster-prone developing countries has been expanded substantially through added staff and funding. It has entered into or negotiated memorandums of understanding with a number of U.N. agencies and with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. Among its publications is a technical series "Disaster Prevention and Mitigation", prepared in cooperation with the World Meteorological Organization, UNESCO and other U.N. bodies and with support from the United Nations Environment Programme. An important stage in expanding UNDRO capabilities was reached in November 1976 with completion of its Co-ordination Centre in Geneva, with extensive communications capabilities. UNDRO provides advice and assistance to disaster-prone developing countries through its technical advisory missions. See regarding development and activities of UNDRO "Report of the Secretary-General -- Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator", General Assembly Doc. A/32/64, 12 May 1977 as well as UNDRO *Newsletter*.

Interfaces

Necessarily, global level activities in this area are in conjunction with national efforts in developing prevention and warning capabilities and in responding to disasters when they occur.

Appraisal

An area of rapidly developing importance both with regard to disaster response (with special reference to needs of developing nations) and with regard to warning and prevention capability. Regional efforts are being undertaken and offer future promise. strengthening. The rate of advance at the global level in recent years can only be viewed as a welcome response to imperatives for action.

Education

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNESCO

Policy Development

Article 55 (b) of the United nations Charter calls for the U.N. to "promote ... international educational ... co-operation." The Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) asserts that "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory." (Art. 26). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) further declares that secondary education should be "made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education." Further, "Fundamental education shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education." (Art. 13). Among the main goals as set out in the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1969, are "The eradication of illiteracy and the assurance of the right to universal access to culture, to free compulsory education at the elementary level and to free education at all levels; the raising of the general level of lifelong education." (Art. 10 (e)). UNESCO has devoted considerable attention to educational policy, including efforts to combat illiteracy.

Process Development

Under the U.N. Charter, ECOSOC is to make or initiate studies and reports with respect to educational matters and to make recommendations to the General Assembly, members of the U.N. and to specialized agencies concerned. UNESCO, established in 1946 as a specialized agency within the U.N. system, has had from the outset as one of its major areas of responsibility educational development. A United Nations University was established, with headquarters in Tokyo, in 1975. However, its functions are primarily of a research nature. Its activities have been initially targeted for three program areas -- world hunger, human and social development and use and management of natural resources.

Interfaces

Education remains largely a province of national and subnational policy, especially with regard to implementation. Regional effort are being undertaken and offer future promise. Global policy has been functional in establishing overall goals and standards.

Appraisal

With an estimated 800 million of the world's population illiterate as of 1977 and the total number in this category increasing (along with overall population) over the years, the need for effective policy formulation and implementation in the area of education can scarcely be understated. Doubtless, global level efforts, including technical assistance in developing countries, have had an impact, but much more must be done. Regional work in this area could be especially fruitful, given variations in approaches to education and to types of problems faced from region to region.

Employment

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ILO

Policy Development

The Declaration of Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation, adopted in Philadelphia in 1944, recognized ILO's "solemn obligation ... to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve ... full employment and the raising of standards of living." (Section III). Well before this time, however, the ILO Conference, at its first session (1919) had adopted an Unemployment Convention requesting ratifying States to report "on measures taken or contemplated to combat unemployment." In 1964 the ILO Conference adopted an Employment Policy Convention and Recommendation under which ratifying States are to declare and pursue as a major goal an active policy designed to promote full, productive and freely chosen employment.

Five years later, on ILO's fiftieth anniversary (1969), responding to a 1967 Conference resolution calling for a "World Plan for Employment and Human Resources Development", ILO launched the World Employment Programme, designed as that organization's main contribution for the Second Development Decade. Under the Programme efforts are made to identify particular policies and measures to improve the employment situation and to aid countries in implementation of the policies and measures. The Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1969 (Res. 2542 (XXIV)) states that "Social development requires the assurance to everyone of the right to work and the free choice of employment." (Art. 6). It further establishes as one of its main goals "promotion of full productive employment and elimination of unemployment and underemployment." (Art. 10).

In June 1976 a Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labour was held in Geneva under ILO auspices. A Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action adopted at the Conference recognizes "that one of the primary objectives of national development efforts and of international economic relations must be to achieve full employment and to satisfy the basic needs of all people throughout this One World." It notes that "unemployment, underemployment and marginality are a universal concern and affect at least one-third of humanity at the present time, offending human dignity and preventing exercise of the right to work." A Programme of Action was adopted which includes the provision that "Member States should place prime emphasis on the generation of employment, in particular to meet the challenge of creating sufficient jobs in developing countries by the year 2000 and thereby achieve full employment. Specific targets should be set to reduce progressively unemployment and underemployment." (Section 8). The U.N. General Assembly by resolution adopted in December 1976 took "note with satisfaction" of the Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action adopted at the Conference. (Res. 31/176, 21 December 1976).

Process Development

In relation to its World Employment Programme, ILO has utilized "Comprehensive Employment Strategy Missions" to visit developing countries and assist in determining what an employment-oriented development strategy would consist of in a given context. Regional employment teams have also been utilized in furtherance of the Programme.

Interfaces

Implementation in this area, as in most issue areas, depends largely on policy development at the national level. However, global policy (as well as regional) can be an important element in providing direction and assistance in this regard.

Appraisal

According to the Director-General of ILO, nearly 300 million persons were unemployed or underemployed in third world countries alone in the mid-1970s. See Introduction by Francis Blanchard in *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-World Problem* (New York: Praeger Publishers, in cooperation with Overseas Development Council and International Labour Organisation, 1977.) See also *World Employment Programme - A Progress Report on its Research-oriented Activities*, (Geneva, International Labour Organisation, 1973.)

Food

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, World Food Council, FAO, WHO

Policy Development

The Food and Agriculture Organization, from its inception in 1945, has in policy statements and in its work generally given major attention to raising standards of nutrition and improving production and distribution of food. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) asserts that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food..." (Art. 25). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) reiterates this position, adding that states parties to it will take appropriate steps to ensure its realization. These states also recognize the "essential importance of international cooperation based on free consent" in this regard. The states agree to take individually and through such international cooperation measures needed to improve methods of production, distribution and conservation of food and to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need. (Art. 11)

A joint United Nations/FAO World Food Programme began operations in early 1963. A joint FAO/WHO Food Standards Programme had been started in 1961. Faced with mounting shortages of food in a number of developing countries, a World Food Conference was convened in Rome in November 1974. It adopted a Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition and a number of other resolutions dealing with short and long-term aspects of the crisis. In the Declaration it was proclaimed that "Every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain their physical and mental faculties. Society today already possesses sufficient resources, organization ability, and technology and hence the competence to achieve this objective. Accordingly, the eradication of hunger is a common objective of all the countries of the international community, especially of the developed countries and others in a position to help."

The Declaration asserts that "Developing countries reaffirm their belief that the primary responsibility for ensuring their own rapid development rests with themselves" but also provides that "Since, for various reasons, many developing countries are not yet always able to meet their own food needs, urgent and effective international action should be taken to assist them, free of political pressure." In the Declaration and supporting resolutions, great emphasis was placed on the need for expanding food production in developing countries. The Declaration and resolutions were endorsed by the U.N. General Assembly in December 1974. (Res. 3348 (XXIX), 17 December 1974).

Process Development

Probably the most important aspect, aside from establishmnt of FAO itself, was creation of the World Food Council by General Assembly resolution adopted immediately after the Rome Food Conference. General Assembly Res. 3348, 17 December 1974). This act was based upon a Food Conference recommendation. (See Conference resolution XXII). The Council, with the assistance of its own secretariat based in Rome, is responsible for overall coordination among all agencies of the U.N. system. An International Fund for Agricultural Development, to assist with finance of food production in developing countries, has also resulted from initiatives of the Rome Conference, with support of General Assembly resolutions.

Interfaces

As early as 1962 a joint FAO/WHO/OAU (Organization of African Unity) Regional Food and Nutrition Commission for Africa was established. Global level-national level relationships in this area are evident from developments considered above, including establishment of the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

Appraisal

The magnitude of the challenge to humanity by the mass starvation suffered in some countries and the even more widespread malnutrition in many more, coupled with overconsumption, especially among portions of the population in developed nations, has at least received some measures of response in the 1970s. Global, regional and national policy formulation and implementation in this area is a critical test of commitment to human survival itself. In the short-run only through global and regional response in meeting food needs can survival be assured. Success of longer-term policies pointing toward achievement of sufficiency in production and distribution within the nations where hunger and malnutrition are widely experienced will also require major global and regional response, in addition to national level action.

Health

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, WHO

Policy Development

The U.N. Charter provides that that organization shall promote "solutions of international ... health ... problems." (Art. 55 (b)). The World Health Organization's Constitution, which became effective with WHO's founding in 1948, sets as the organization's prime objective "attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health." (Art. 1). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) asserts that everyone has the right to a standard of living "adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including ... medical care." (Art. 25). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) provides that states parties to it "recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health." Particular steps which states parties to the Covenant are to take to achieve the realization of this right are set out. (Art. 12).

The Declaration on Social Progress and Development (1969) lists among its main goals "The achievement of the highest standards of health and the provision of health protection for the entire population, if possible free of charge." (Art. 10). Among means and measures to be utilized are "The provision of free health services to the whole population and of adequate preventive and curative facilities and welfare and medical services accessible to all." (Art. 19).

The WHO Assembly has adopted a number of measures to further achievement of health for the world's peoples, among the most important of which are the International Sanitary Regulations (1951) laying down in some detail rights and obligations of national health authorities in regard to quarantine measures for preventing the spread of infectious diseases. WHO has also led campaigns to wipe out malaria (initiated 1955) and smallpox (initaited 1966) and for immunization against other diseases. In May 1977, WHO's Assembly set as a target attainment by all citizens of the world by the year 2000 of a level of health that would permit them to lead socially and economically productive lives.

Process Development

Creation of World Health Organization (1948), with headquarters in Geneva was a major step in process development. WHO works through regional organizations covering Southeast Asia, Eastern Mediterranean, Western Pacific, the Americas, Africa and Europe. Each regional organization has a Regional Committee of all members of the region and a regional office headed by a regional director.

Interfaces

In view of WHO's regional approach to operations, there is a sounder basis in the health issue area than in many others for effective interaction between global, regional and national levels.

Appraisal

The growth of life expectancy on a world basis during the period under consideration has been striking and provides evidence of effectiveness of efforts in this area. Smallpox has been virtually - possibly totally - eliminated. The decentralized regional approach utilized by WHO has much to commend it. Yet, a great deal remains to be done, especially in developing nations, for adequate health services to be available to all and for standard of sanitation and other essential factors truly conducive to decent health to be achieved.

Housing and Human Settlements

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Vancouver, 1976)

Policy Development

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) provides that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including ... housing." (Art. 25). Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) reiterates this principle. The Declaration on Social Progress and Development (1969) establishes as a main goal "The provision for all, particularly persons in low-income groups and large families, of adequate housing and community services." (Art. 10 (f)).

The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (1976) recognizes in its preamble that "the circumstances of life for vast numbers of people in human settlements are unacceptable, particularly in developing countries, and that, unless positive and concrete action is taken at national and international levels to find and implement solutions, these conditions are likely to be further aggravated." It speaks of the need for increased activity by Governments and the international community "aimed at mobilization of economic resources, institutional changes and international solidarity." A goal of such a mobilization is adoption of "bold, meaningful and effective human settlement policies and spatial planning strategies realistically adapted to local conditions." The Conference recommended that "All countries should establish as a matter of urgency a national policy on human settlements, embodying the distribution of population, and related economic and social activities, over the national territory." Further, it asserted that "A national policy for human settlements and the environment should be an integral part of any national economic and social development policy." The Conference made a wide variety of specific recommendation with regard to national action in this area.

A General Assembly resolution adopted several months after the conference's conclusion urged governments of member states to consider on a priority basis recommendations for national action at Vancouver and called for regional commissions and all international organizations within and outside the U.N. system to take intensified and sustained action in support of national efforts. (Res. 31/109, 16 December 1976). A further resolution adopted a year later by the Assembly recognized that while action regarding human settlements is primarily the responsibility of governments, this area "represents a primary field of action in international cooperation, which should be strenghthened in order that adequate solutions may be found, based on equity, justice and solidarity, especially among developing countries." The resolution states that "The international community should provide, both at the global and regional levels, encouragement and support to Governments determined to take effective action to ameliorate conditions, especially for the least advantaged, in rural and urban human settlements." (Res. 32/162, 19 December 1977).

Process Development

Concern regarding unmet housing needs in the world, the basis for various ECOSOC and General Assembly resolutions seeking expedited action, led ECOSOC in 1962 to create a Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. Based upon this committee's recommendations and their endorsement by ECOSOC, a Centre for Housing, Building and Planning was established within the U.N. Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs in June 1965. At its 1977 session, the U.N. General Assembly decided that ECOSOC should transform the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning into a 58 member Commission on Human Settlements, with seats allocated on a regional basis. The Commission was charged with assisting countries and regions in increasing and improving their own efforts to solve human settlement problems and with promoting greater international cooperation in order to increase the availability of resources of developing countries and regions. The Assembly also decided to create a small secretariat within the U.N. system to be known as "Habitat, Centre for Human Settlements", which would take over the resources of the Centre for Housing, Building and Planning. In order to facilitate links with the United Nations Environment Programme, the Centre was located in Nairobi. (General Assembly Res. 32/162, 19 December 1977).

Interfaces

The importance accorded work at the regional level in this area by the General Assembly was indicated in its Resolution 32/162 under which during the period 1978-80 "a significant portion of all posts" in the Centre for Human Settlements would be assigned to the regions. The resolution also contained an entire portion (Part IV) devoted to "Organization at the Regional Level". It is apparent that while national level action is recognized to be critical in this field, interrelationships between that level and regional and global levels will also receive emphasis.

Appraisal

With the convening of the World Conference on Human Settlements at Vancouver in 1976, considerable new attention and energy was devoted to this area. The combination of substantive policy and institutional development which has resulted can do much to further progress. Especially noteworthy is the emphasis on regional activity.

Human Rights

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, U.N. Commission on Human Rights, Commission on the Status of Women, Special Committee Against Apartheid, International Women's Year Conference (Mexico City, 1975), World Conference for Action Against Apartheid (Lagos, 1977)

Policy Development

Under terms of the U.N. Charter, the organization is to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." (Art. 55). Members "pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of purposes set forth in Article 55."

In the years since the promulgation of the U.N. Charter, many declarations, covenants and conventions have been adopted by the organization's General Assembly and by other bodies providing expressions of policy in this area. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, drafted by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and adopted by the General Assembly in 1948 was of an encompassing character. Most of the policy documents, however, relate to a more specific aspect of the human rights field, as for instance the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (adopted by the General Assembly in 1948), the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (adopted by the Assembly in 1965), the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights (Assembly adoption 1966), the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Woment (Assembly adoption 1967), the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace (1975) and the Lagos Declaration for Action Against Apartheid (1977).

Process Development

The U.N. Charter empowers the General Assembly to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of "assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." (Art. 13). Similarly, ECOSOC may "make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all." (Art. 62 (2)). ECOSOC's responsibility for establishing a commission for the promotion of human rights is set out in Art. 68 of the Charter.

This Commission was created in 1946. A Division of Human Rights was created within the U.N. Secretariat to assist with the promotion and protection of Human Rights. A Commission on the Status of Women was likewise created by ECOSOC in 1946. The Special Committee Against Apartheid was established by the General Assembly in 1962. The General Assembly has adopted various resolutions with regard to improving procedures for protecting human rights within the U.N. system, as for instance Res. 3136 (XXVIII), 14 December 1973, Res. 3221 (XXIX), 6 November 1974, and Res. 3451 (XXX), 9 December 1975.

In 1977 under a resolution entitled "Regional Arrangements for the Promotion of Human Rights" it recognized "the important contribution of United Nations regional commissions in the economic fields" and appealed "to States in areas where regional arrangements in the field of human rights do not yet exist to consider agreements with a view to the establishment within their respective regions of suitable regional machinery for the promotion and protection of human rights." Further, the U.N. Secretary-General was "to give priority to the organization, in areas where no regional commissions on human rights exist, of seminars for the purpose of discussing the usefulness and advisability of the establishment of regional commissions for the promotion and protection of human rights." (Res. 32/127, 16 December 1977).

Interfaces

Necessarily, national action in regard to human rights protection is crucial, whether in terms of affirmative policies of governments in this respect, or attempts to prevent violations by the governments themselves. However, the importance of regional level action has been recognized for some time, as for instance in the Americas (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights) and in Western Europe (European Commission on Human Rights). The General Assembly resolution cited above is intended to create an impetus for development of regional human rights commissions or similar bodies in those areas where they do not exist.

Appraisal

Progress has been made during the period under consideration with respect to policy formulation, and to a more limited extent, implementation. However, it is clear that so much remains to be accomplished that in a sense this is an area in which the present scope of activities at global, regional and national levels can be regarded as only a beginning. It is interesting to note with special regard to religious aspects of human rights, that whereas the General Assembly as early as 1962 asked ECOSOC to obtain from the Commission on Human Rights a draft declaration dealing with discrimination based on religion or belief, despite periodic prodding from the Assembly (by adoption or resolutions) the Commission had not, as of December 1977, completed work. See in this connection Item 86 in "Annotated Preliminary List of Items to be Included in the Provisional Agenda of the Thirty-Second Regular Session of the General Assembly", General Assembly Doc. A/32/100, 15 June 1977 and General Assembly Res. 32/142, 16 December 1977.

Migration

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ILO

Policy Development

While under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights the right to *leave* a country is asserted (Art. 12 (2) - "Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own"), there is no comparable right recognized in global policy of entrance *into* a country. Thus global level migration policy consists largely of statements and measures to protect the rights of migrants as to conditions of work and life *when* they have achieved admittance into another country.

Important policy statements in this regard are contained in the "Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action Adopted by the 1976 Employment Conference" (convened pursuant to resolution of ILO's International Labour Conference). See specifically Part II of the Programme of Action entitled "International Manpower Movements and Employment", especially Para. 38. The Programme of Action also stresses the responsibility of countries of origin to include in their development strategy "an employment policy which would give workers productive employment and satisfactory conditions of work and life.", thus mitigating need for migration.

In a statement of "General Objectives of National and International Policies", the Programme of Action provides that their aim should be threefold: "(i) to provide more attractive alternatives to migration in the country of origin; (ii) to protect migrants and their families from the difficulties and distress which sometimes follow migration; (iii) to take care that neither migration or its alternatives are prejudicial to the rest of the population or harmful to economic and social development in either the country of origin or the country of employment." (Section 35).

Process Development

Under a 1948 resolution of ECOSOC, the basis for coordination within the U.N. system in this area was developed. A Technical Working Group on Migration was established under auspices of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination. ILO assumed, under the ACC, responsibility for promoting inter-agency coordination in this area and for servicing the Technical Working Group.

Interfaces

This area has been the subject of regional level policy consideration, especially in Europe. Under the Treaty of Rome (1957) provision is made for free movement of workers within the European Community Countries. However, in general, as to policy formulation and implementation in this area, the national level remains crucial.

Appraisal

Adverse conditions of migrant workers in many countries provide ample evidence of the need for policy development in this area. Regional efforts could be especially fruitful, both in terms of facilitating migration and insuring satisfactory conditions for those who have migrated. Eventually policy at the global level (and in those regions where there is no policy now) will have to deal in a positive fashion with facilitation of the right, however limited, to seek opportunities for fulfillment in a country or countries other than that of one's birth.

Narcotic Drug and Psychotropic Substance Control

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, Commission on Narcotic Drugs, International Narcotics Control Board, WHO

Policy Development

Prior to World War II there had been considerable activity in this area, including development of the Hague and Geneva conventions of 1912 and 1925, respectively. After a considerable period of drafting work initiated by ECOSOC, a conference under U.N. auspices adopted a "Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961". The convention provides for control of use of narcotic drugs and of growth of crops related to them, as well as of manufacturing and trade related to them. With growth of use of LSD, amphetamines, barituates and other drugs not covered by the 1961 Convention, the need for further regulation at the global level resulted in adoption in 1971 of a Convention of Psychotropic Substances. This convention came into force in August 1976. A 1972 Protocol amended the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs.

Process Development

Functions exercised by the League of Nations in this area were transferred to the United Nations and in 1946 ECOSOC established a Commission on Narcotic Drugs to assist it with its responsibilities. Under provisions of the 1961 Single Convention, an International Narcotics Control Board was established. The INCB began functioning in 1968, superseding the Permanent Central Narcotics Board and the Drug Supervisory Body, organs transferred to the U.N. from the League. INCB functions through a secretariat in Geneva. A Division of Narcotic Drugs in the U.N. Secretariat assists with work in this area. The World Health Organization has established an Expert Committee on Drug Dependence. A U.N. Inter-Agency Advisory Committee on Drug Abuse Control facilitates coordination among U.N. system bodies and those outside the system (such as Interpol) with relevant responsibilities. An International Fund for Drug Abuse Control has been established to provide added resources for eliminating illicit drug supply, trafficking and demand.

Interfaces

National policy formulation and implementation with reference to goals of the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances is essential to meaningful action in this area. Regional policy development could be a major factor in making global policy tangible and effective.

Appraisal

Undoubtedly, global policy has through the years helped substantially in dealing with problems relating to agricultural production, manufacturing, trade and use o the materials and substances dealt with in this area. However it is clear that much further development as to policy formulation, implementation and evaluation is required at all levels - national, regional and global - for a reasonable level of success to be achieved in meeting policy goals. Regional action has a particular potential for development in this area.

Population

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, Population Commission, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations World Population Conference (Bucharest, August 1974)

Policy Development

While much consideration had been given to population questions within and outside the United Nations system over the years since its founding and especially from approximately 1960 onward, until the World Population Conference in Bucharest in 1974 adopted its Plan of Action and accompanying resolutions, the outlines of global level policy in this area were difficult to discern.

The Bucharest Plan of Action states that one of the Plan's objectives was the recommendation of "guidelines for population policies consistent with national values and goals and with internationally recognized principles." (Para. 15 (f)). Primary responsibility regarding population policy was placed at the national level, although it was noted that "The effect of national action or inaction in the fields of population may, in certain circumstances, extend beyond national boundaries; such international implications are particularly evident with regard to aspects of morbidity, population concentration and international migration, but may also apply to other aspects of population concern." (Para. 99)

The Plan and accompanying resolutions took note of the interrelationship of population dynamics and socio-economic development. However, the Conference recommended that "programmes should be established and promoted to provide guidance, information and services in order that individuals and couples may determine the number and spacing of the children they desire through educational means and health care, both in the public sector and through non-governmental channels approved by national Governments, care being taken to ensure that they are carried out with absolute respect for fundamental rights of the human being, that they preserve the dignity of the family, and that no coercive measures are used." (Res. XV).

The U.N. General Assembly by resolution adopted several months after the conclusion of the Bucharest Conference affirmed that "the World Population Plan of Action is an instrument of the international community for the promotion of economic development, quality of life, human rights and fundamental freedoms within the broader context of the internationally adopted strategies for national and international progress" and invited "Governments to consider the recommendations for action at the national level and to implement population policies and programmes which they determine are appropriate." It called for U.N. system organs and agencies to report to the Economic and Social Council how they could best assist with implementing the Plan of Action and urged that international assistance in the population field should be expanded for the proper implementation of the Plan, especially through the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. It asked ECOSOC to continue to provide "over-all policy guidance within the United Nations sytem on population-related matters." (Res. 3344 (XXIX), 17 December 1974).

Process Development

A Population Commission was created by ECOSOC to assist it with work in this area shortly after the founding of the United nations. A Population Division has also been created in the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities was created in 1967 by the Secretary-General in response to ECOSOC and General Assembly resolutions. In 1972 by General Assembly resolution the U.N. Development Programme's Governing Council was made UNFPA's governing body. (Res. 3019 (XXVII) adopted 18 December 1972). Fund-supported projects operate in a large number of countries. In Africa, for instance, as of the end of the period under consideration, over 200 country projects in 39 countries out of the 43 constituting the sub-Saharan African region were being funded.

An International Institute for Population Studies was established in 1957 under the joint sponsorship of the United Nations and the government of India. It has provided demographic training to participants from the Asian and Pacific region under a programme of United Nations fellowships. In addition, there are five U.N.-sponsored regional or interregional training and research centers: The Latin American Demographic Centre, established in Santiago, Chile in 1957; the Cairo Demographic Centre, established in Cairo in 1963, serving African and West Asian regions; the Regional Institute for Population Studies established in Ghana in 1972, serving English-speaking countries of Africa; the Institut de Formation et de Recherche Demographiques, established in Yaounde in 1972, serving French-speaking countries of Africa; and Centre Demographique ONU-Roumanie, established in Bucharest in 1974, specializing in population and development.

Interfaces

National level policy formulation and implementation in this sensitive but increasingly active area is essential. Given variations in cultural attitudes and problems faced, regional efforts can be especially fruitful. Some indication of the extent of regional efforts is provided in the above.

Appraisal

Policy has been slow in developing in this area. The extent of the magnitude of population growth, especially in developing countries, was not understood until about half way through the period under consideration, and even then religious and other sensitivities made policy formulation at the global (as well as regional and national) levels a difficult task. The Plan of Action and resolutions adopted at the Bucharest Conference represent a breakthrough not only in establishing that nations have responsibility for formulating policy in this area but in making clear that population trends can only be understood meaningfully in relation to socio-economic development.

However, notwithstanding progress both in policy and process development, especially in recent years, and notwithstanding signs that in some of the developing countries, including some with the largest populations, there is a deceleration in rates of population growth, there is clearly no room for complacency in this area, especially considering that world population rose by 60% in the period 1950-1975, that is, from 2.5 billion to 4 billion. For a summary appraisal of population trends, see "Report of the Economic and Social Council -- World Population Situation -- Note by the SecretaryGeneral", General Assembly Doc. A/C.2/32/L.8, 28 September 1977.

For an analysis of the role of non-governmental organizations in the development of population policy, see Roger Coate, "The Role of Nongovernmental Actors in International Population/Development Decisionmaking Networks", paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., February 1978. For a study of experience with policy evolution in a developing nation with relatively large population and high rate of population growth (3.5%), see *National Experience in the Formulation and Implementation of Population Policy, 1960-1976, Mexico* (New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1977 ST/ESA/SER.R/18.) The latter document is part of a series prepared by the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, U.N. Secretariat, which is intended eventually to cover all nation-states.

Refugees

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, UNHCR, UNRWA

Policy Development

A Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, drawn up at a 1951 Conference held in Geneva and sometimes referred to as the Magna Carta of Refugees, contains provisions relating to the right to work, to education, to social security, freedom of religion and access to courts. It seeks to ensure that contracting states will not expel a refugee lawfully on their territory except on grounds of national security and public order and that refugees will not be expelled or returned to areas where their life or freedom would be threatened on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. It also provides for issuance of travel documents to refugees. A Protocol to the 1951 Convention extending its scope to new refugee groups came into force in 1967. Also relevant is the Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (adopted by the General Assembly in 1950), a Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons adopted at a 1954 conference convened by ECOSOC and coming into force in 1960, and a Declaration on Territorial Asylum adopted by the General Assembly in 1967.

Process Development

World War II refugee problems were initially dealt with by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration established in November 1943. In 1947 a Preparatory Commission for an agency in the process of being created, International Refugee Organization, took over from UNRRA refugee responsibilities. IRO itself succeeded the Preparatory Commission in this regard and functioned until February 1952 under a constitution adopted by the General Assembly. The present structure with regard to general policy in this area emerged with establishment of the Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in January 1951. Created by the General Assembly, UNHCR functions under the policy guidance of a 31-member Executive Committee. Headquarters are in Geneva. UNHCR is responsible both for protection of and assistance to refugees. With specific reference to Palestinian refugees, a United Nations relief program was established in 1948. The current agency in this connection, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, was created by the General Assembly and began operations in 1950.

Interfaces

There has apparently been a considerable degree of regional activity in this area. Notable in this regard is the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, drawn up by the Organization of African Unity and entering into force in June 1974. Previously, in 1965, the OAU had by resolution called upon its member states not yet parties to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees to adhere to it. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has worked in cooperation not only with the OAU but with other regional intergovernmental organizations. However national policy remains crucial, whether that of states in which refuge has been sought, the state of origin (in terms of possible repatriation) or third states which may provide further, including permanent, residence opportunities.

Appraisal

Considering the constant emergence of situations requiring protection for and assistance to refugees, and considering the fact that this is peculiarly an area requiring international cooperation, there is ample justification for continued attention to global level policy formulation and implementation. Further encouragement of regional involvement is doubtless called for. Redoubled efforts at the national level must also be stimulated.

Social Security

Forums

U.N. General Assembly, ECOSOC, ILO

Policy Development

The "Declaration Concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation" adopted in Philadelphia in 1944 recognizes the organization's "solemn obligation ... to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve ... the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection." (Part III, especially (f)). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality." (Art. 22). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) provides that "The States parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security including social insurance." (Art. 9).

The Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 establishes as a main goal "The enactment and establishment of legislative measures and administrative regulations with a view to the implementation of comprehensive programmes of social security schemes and social welfare services and to the improvement and co-ordination of existing services." (Art. 19 (b)). The International Labour Organisation's commitment to development of a broad range of social security protections extends not just from the Philadlphia Declaration of 1944 but in fact from the organization's founding in 1919. Some conventions and recommendations dealing with unemployment, maternity protection, workmen's compensation, sickness insurance, old age insurance, survivor's insurance, and social insurance were adopted in the period 1919 to 1936. (See "Transgovernmental Relations and Social Security Policy Making in Latin America: A Preliminary Assessment" by Mark B. Rosenberg, paper presented to International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., February 1978, pp. 12-13.)

Process Development

ILO has increasingly provided technical assistance at the national level, especially to developing nations, in formulating and implementing programs in this area. The establishment by ILO of an International Institute for Labour Studies in March 1960 is also relevant in that research conducted at the Institute can be a basis for policy fomulation, implementation and evaluation as regards this, as well as other issue-aras within ILO's scope of responsibility.

Interfaces

Various regional organizations have been active in this area, providing an intermediary link between global level (largely ILO) involvement and the primary responsibilities at the national level for policy formulation and implementation. (See the Latin American region paper by Rosenberg cited above.)

Appraisal

While extensive social security programs, in their various dimensions, continue to be lacking in a number of nations, especially those in the developing category, efforts to facilitate their emergence and increased effectiveness as well as to strengthen programs in countries where they already have a tangible existence, represent a continuing imperative. Progress has been made in this area during the period under consideration, but much remains to be done. Further impetus for regional activity should be provided. There appears to be a need for greater involvement of ECOSOC and of the General Assembly in this area to provide added support for regional and national development. The U.N. regional commissions could then be brought into more effective utilization as a link between the global and national levels.

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Index prepared by Susan Hughes, third year student, Seton Hall Law School

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